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R. BRVNSCHVIG J. SCHACHT

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THE GRAMMAR OF SŪRATU 'L-IKHLĀṢ

In the Qur'ān there is one *sūrah* or chapter which has pre-eminence over every other *sūrah*. This is *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ*. Its four or, as some say, five verses are so vitally important in content that accepted Muslim traditions declare that these few verses are equal, in recital-worth, to a third of the whole Qur'ān, which has six thousand two hundred verses, or more.

The majority of Muslim scholars through the centuries have accepted one hundred and fourteen as the number of surahs in the Qur'ān, with *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* as the Hundred and Twelfth. Some few scholars, by reckoning two surahs as one, reduce the total to one hundred and thirteen. Different traditionalists reported different combinations to produce the smaller total, just as Islamic scholars, by different principles of counting and different divisions of the words in the chapters, reach different totals for the numbers of the words in the verses, verses in the surahs and surahs in the Book. There has always been considerable freedom, not to say license, for Muslim scholars in dealing with the text of their sacred Scripture. Both the higher and the lower kinds of criticism are recognized branches of Quranic science. The actual giving of numbers to the surahs and their verses in printed editions of the Qur'ān is a recently adopted practice. The official Egyptian government edition followed its own method of enumeration, placing the figures at the beginning of the surahs and at the end of the verses.

Just as the many authoritative variant readings of the Quranic text do not decrease its validity as divine Scripture, so the different enumerations of the words, verses and surahs

are all acceptable because, not the original text, but the bases of the counting varied.

Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467/1075-538/1144) was a Persian who became a very great Arabic scholar, excelling in grammar and lexicography. He was a Mu'tazilī, giving human reasoning an authoritative place in his conclusions about the Qur'ān and Islam. In *al-Kashshāf*, his learned Commentary, he states his reasons for the equality of *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* with the whole of the Qur'ān in worth. But Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (A. D. 1149-1210) in his Commentary *Mafātīḥu 'l-Ghayb*, quoted authoritative, that is, accepted traditions which limited the value of the *Sūrah* to a third of the whole Qur'ān. Then 'Abdullah bin 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. A. H. 685/A. D. 1286), whose Commentary, *Anwāru 'l-Tanzīl*, is a revision of *al-Kashshāf* through the removal of nearly all of its Mu'tazilī bias, also quoted the same specific traditions that limited the recital value of the *Sūrah* but mentioned also the greater estimate and added another tradition which says that those who recite it in their performance of the Worship will have their entrance into the Garden as an obligatory reward.

The vital importance of the *Sūrah* in Islam is further indicated by the fact that the great Ḥanbalī theologian, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah (661/1263-728/1328) devoted a book of 140 pages to its exposition.

Egypt's great Islamic scholar, Jalāl al-Din al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505), in his invaluable but still untranslated book on Qur'ān Introduction, *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūmi 'l-Qur'ān*, is content with quoting the same traditions that affirm the worth of this second shortest *sūrah* of the Qur'ān.

The *Sūrah* has a number of names, the most common of which is *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* (The Chapter of Pure Belief). Al-Rāzī lists twenty titles for the *Sūrah*, while Shihāb al-Dīn, in his splendid super-commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwāru 'l-Tanzīl*, mentions only four. He mentions, however, that the name *al-Ikhlāṣ* is used to express the doctrine of Allah's Oneness. The most recently published translation of the Qur'ān in English, that by N. J. Dawood, uses the title : The Unity, for the *Sūrah*.

After the *Basmalah*, the first word of the *Sūrah* is *Qul*, " Say ! ". This is the first word of five other surahs, as follows: 8, 72, 109, 113 and 114.

A number of Qur'ān commentaries, and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān* as well, quote traditions which say that the authoritative Reciters, Ubay bin Mālik and Ibn Mas'ūd, omitted the word *qul*, but the commentators nevertheless place it at the beginning of *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* because it is the well known reading.

This word *qul*, "Say," occurs altogether 332 times in the Qur'ān, which abundance of occurrence has supported the Muslims in their universally accepted doctrine of the divine origin of their sacred Book. There are some verses in the Qur'ān which traditions affirm to be statements made by 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb and other Muslims, as well as declarations made by Gabriel and other angels. These non-prophetic quotations are explained as verses which Muhammad was instructed to include in the Revelation by the word *qul* " Say " which is implied where it is not expressed. The whole subject is included in al-Suyūṭī's discussion in Chapters Ten and Fifteen of Book I of *al-Itqān*, which deal with the Secondary Causes and Occasions of the Revelation of the Qur'ān Verses.

After *qul*, " Say, " the next word is *huwa*, " It, " or " He. " About this word, as the two alternative translations into English indicate, there are differences of opinion among Muslim scholars, and consequently much discussion. Some commentators, such as al-Ṭabarī (224/838-310/923), whose Commentary, *al-Tafsīr*, is the first on the whole Qur'ān, take the pronoun *huwa* to be the subject of a sentence, with the following word, *Allah*, as its predicate. The meaning would then be, " He is Allah, " with the following word, *'aḥad*^{un}, " One, " as a second, appositional, predicate. This interpretation of the grammar of the sentence takes the three words to mean, " He is Allah, One " and the verse has so been rendered by some translators.

The Arabic commentators who accept this interpretation, recognizing that the best rhetoric requires that a pronoun should have an antecedent, explain the pronoun here by saying that " He " refers to an antecedent which is understood. It is declared that the sentence is the answer to a question addressed

to Muhammad. At least two are recorded. Al-Ṭabarī mentions both of them. He first quotes a tradition which says, " Unbelievers asked Muhammad, ' What is the lineage, *nasab*, of the Lord of Glory ' ? " Then he quotes another tradition, that Jews said, " This Allah created the Universe, but who created Allah ? " The *Sūrah* is the reply dictated to Muhammad in answer to either question. A notable Persian rhetorician, ' Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078?), in his *Dalā'ilu 'l-I'jāz* (Evidences of the Eloquence [of the Qur'ān]), accepts that same grammatical explanation of the sentence.

Al-Zamakhsharī, however, both in his Commentary, already mentioned, and in his Grammar, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, flatly declares that *huwa* is a " pronoun of the fact. " The Grammar is exceedingly well regarded in the East, and so highly valued in the West that both *al-Mufaṣṣal* and its Commentary by Ibn Ya'īsh have been edited and translated by European scholars. Al-Zamakhsharī's pronouncement is the one generally, but not exclusively, adopted by later Muslim scholars. It has not been widely accepted by Western translators of the Qur'ān, and only in recent years by the present writer, which is why this article is here presented.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, in his Commentary, discusses fully the grammatical treatments of the verse. He first mentions the explanation that *huwa* is a pronoun, with the noun " Allah " in apposition to *huwa*, also in the nominative case. *Aḥad*^{un}, " One, " is the predicate of the sentence and is also in the nominative case. He quotes the frequently used grammatical example, *Zaidun, akhūka, qā'im*^{un} (" Zaid, your brother, is standing. ") This interpretation of the grammar of the verse requires it to be rendered, " He, Allah, is One. "

This is the grammatical explanation of the sentence that is accepted by Islam's Master Mystic, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī in his Commentary on the Qur'ān.

Grammatically considered, this rendering is certainly possible, because it makes the verse to be a nominal declarative sentence with a definite subject preceding an indefinite predicate, which is what such a sentence should have unless its predicate is in

two words or one word containing two ideas, in which cases the predicate may be definite.

However, the rhetoric of the sentence thus rendered has the objection that the pronoun which is the real subject precedes its logical antecedent. Since the best rhetoric, which is the only kind to be found in the Qur'ān, as all Muslims must believe, has pronouns follow their antecedents, expressed or implied, and, further, in this case there is no preceding substantive noun, even though one is immediately supplied in the Quranic text, traditions were found to explain the verse as the answer to the questions of polytheists or Jews, as has already been mentioned.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Commentary next presents al-Zamakhsharī's explanation, that *huwa* is " a pronoun of the fact, " *(kināyah ' ani 'l-sha'ni)*. Other terms for this type of pronoun are *ḍamīru 'l-amri*, strictly, " the pronoun of the thing," and *ḍamīru 'l-majhūli*, " the pronoun of that which is unknown, " which is the term preferred by the grammarians of al-Kūfah, and *ḍamīru 'l-qiṣṣati*, " the pronoun of the case. " This last term is used when the logical antecedent is, in Arabic, in the feminine gender. Thus understood, the pronoun is to be rendered as " it, " and so the verse is to be rendered, " It, i.e., the fact, " or " the thing, " or " that which is unknown, is, Allah is One. "

Al-Rāzī quotes a third grammatical interpretation of the verse, that by al-Zajjāj, who is probably Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. A.H. 310). Al-Zajjāj said: "The assumption of this verse is: 'This, about which you asked, is, He is Allah, One. ' " Al-Rāzī makes no comment on this explanation, but it is the one used by al-Suyūṭī in his part of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. There are two objections to rendering the verse as, " He is Allah, One. " The first is that the pronoun is without an expressed antecedent and the second is that it takes the indefinite " One " as an appositive, " Allah, " which is definite.

As stated, it is al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation of the grammar of the verse that has won the acceptance of the Muslim commentators. It is the explanation given first place by al-Bayḍāwī, which is his usual way of indicating his own preference. He

mentions the other interpretations, adding to al-Rāzī's third, that " One, " *aḥadun*, may be a second predicate to " He, " *huwa*. Shihāb al-Dīn, the author of the one of the numerous super-commentaries on *Anwār al-Tanzīl* which pays great attention to grammatical problems of the Qur'ān, defends the statement that *huwa* is a pronoun of the fact, in opposition to al-Jurjānī's *Dalā'il al-I'jāz*.

Another super-commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's, that by Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Shaykh Zādah, supporting the pronoun of the fact interpretation of the verse, states that grammarians disallow an indefinite noun to be an appositive, *badal*, of a definite noun.

Al-Rāzī's Commentary next discusses the word *aḥad*, " One. " Philologically it is derived from *waḥad*, with *wāw* " w ", changed to *alif*, " ' ", as a lighter consonant, a common practice. In meaning, however, the two forms, *wāḥid* and *'aḥad* are not synonymous, because *'aḥad* is one of the attributes of Allah, belonging exclusively to Him. It is this aspect of the word that al-Rāzī discusses most fully, both here and in his comment on Surah II, verse 163, *Ilāhukum ilāhun wāḥidun*, " Your God is One God. " Al-Rāzī states that Christians claim that their doctrine declares that Allah is One in substance, which he equates with *dhāt*, " being " or " essence, " Three in *aqānīm*, " subsistences " or " personalities, " which he equates with *ṣifāt*, but, he says, these are really *dhawāt*, " essential beings, " because they inhere in *'Īsā*, Jesus, and *Maryam*, Mary. He adds, inhering in another at one time and separating at another time is proof that they, although called *ṣifāt*, " attributes, " are in reality essential beings, which, he concludes, is pure misbelief.

It is of course quite to be expected that al-Rāzī, commenting on the Qur'ān and Muslim doctrine, would give the Quranic rather than the Biblical view or the doctrine of God which affirms that God is Spirit. He discusses the meaning of the word *rūḥ*, " spirit. " He says, spirit is that which is most clean and pure. It is that which gives life. It is mercy. It is breath. It is what angels are. Although he lived a century after al-Ghazālī he omits the teaching of that great

theologian that the term *rūḥ* includes the meaning of " immaterial, incorporeal substance " and does not follow the laws of matter. Although discussion of the *dhāt*, " essence " of Allah is avoided by most Muslim theologians, there are others who are prepared to deal with that subject, especially in connection with the Oneness of God. Early commentators, such as al-Ṭabarī, like the Qur'ān itself, use the word " one " in its arithmetical or mathematical or numerical sense, as a single or individual item, rather than two or more. It is this aspect of the Oneness of Allah that al-Rāzī also discusses here as he had done before in his comments on *Sūrah* II, verse 163 and *Sūrah* XXI, verse 22 ,adding philosophical arguments to the authority of the traditions and the Qur'ān itself.

The next two words of *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* are *Allāhu 'l-ṣamad.* The official Egyptian edition of the Qur'ān takes them together as verse number two. Grammatically the two words form a second predicate to the *Allah* in the first verse, so that the two sentences read, " Allah is One, Allah al-Ṣamad. " The word " *al-ṣamad* " is an adjectival noun that modifies, that is, describes, Allah.

There is no objection in Arabic grammar to taking these two words of the second verse together as a second predicate of the subject of the preceding sentence. As mentioned before, in Arabic a declarative nominal sentence may have a definite subject precede a definite predicate when the predicate expresses two ideas. It is valid logic and rhetoric to say, " Allah is the *Ṣamad* Allah " or " Allah who is *al-Ṣamad.* All Arabic grammarians agree on that point in the interpretation of the verse. It is about the meaning of the word *ṣamad* that there is great disagreement and total uncertainty. The word is *hapax legomenon* in the Qur'ān and has not been found in any satisfying sense in genuine pre-Islamic literature nor in other languages. Lexicographers and commentators are usually content to present five or more different interpretations of the word. Translators content themselves by choosing one of the five, or strengthen their interpretations by combining two of the meanings. Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, for instance, renders the verse as, " Allah, the eternally Besought of all. "

As usual, al-Rāzī's list of the interpretations of *al-ṣamad* is both well arranged and extensive. He says, *al-Ṣamad* is I. the One Sought, and II. the Solid. He adds that the commentators say, Allah is the One Sought because He is 1. Omniscient; 2. Kind; 3. Lord; 4. the Creator; 5. Besought of all; 6. the Irresistible Ruler; 7. the Great Ruler; 8. the Glorious One. Other commentators say, He is Solid because He is 1. Independent; 2. Unsurpassed; 3. the Provider; 4. Eternal in the Past and the Future; 6. Deathless; 7. Sleepless; 8. Indescribable; 9. Faultless; 10. Without Defect; 11. Perfect; 12. Victor; 13. Without Need; 14. Inscrutable; 15. Unseen; 16. Unbegotten; 17. Great; 18. Unchangeable.

The lack of certainty which this variety of interpretations reveals is an indication of the freedom of exposition that Muslim scholars are accorded in their dealing with the meaning of the Qur'ān.

Verse Three of the *Surah* reads *Lam yalid wa-lam yūlad*, " He did not beget and He was not begotten."

Lam is a particle used with an apocopated form of the present, or aorist measure of the verb to express a negative and past meaning. *Lam yaf'al*, " he did not act, " is strictly and precisely the negative of *fa'ala*, " he acted. " In al-Rāzī's exposition of the verse here, he answers an assumed question about the use of *lam* instead of the particle *lan*, which would express a strong and complete negation of future action. His answer makes the verse to be a denial of beliefs already current in Arabia. The pagan Arabs make, says the Qur'ān, Allah to have daughters (16: 57/59; 37: 149). The Qur'ān also says, " Christians said, The Messiah is the Son of Allah and the Jews said, 'Uzayr (Ezra) is the Son of Allah (9: 30). " Thus, says al-Rāzī, the past forms of the verbs in these verses require the use of the past tense in the verse which replies to them. The translation which best conforms to this common grammatical and exegetical interpretation of the verse is therefore, " He did not beget, and He was not begotten. "

It may be noted, however, that the *māḍī* or past form of the Arabic verbal system is also used legitimately for other than actions in past time. It is used regularly in both parts of

conditional sentences when the protasis precedes the apodosis and the latter is not introduced by the conjunction *fa*, in which case the *fa* may be translated as " then. " The translation into English of such Arabic past forms requires the use of the present or future tenses. The Arabic past measure is also used in gnomic sentences and likewise to express the past action continuing into the present. The most usual example of this last meaning cited by grammarians is *ikhtalafū 'l-'ulamā* or *ikhtalafati 'l-'ulamā*, where the verbs are in the past form with the meaning best expressed as " Scholars differ. "

Applying this grammatical usage to the Quranic verse under examination, the Muslim commentators exercise their right to differ from any who interpret the sentence as merely *māḍī* and give the verse a far more extensive significance. Translators, therefore, following the same grammatical freedom, may quite properly render the verse as, " He does not beget and He is not begotten. " It should, however, be noted that in this case such interpretations separate the verse from specific reference to the Quranic verses already quoted. It is these and their parallel verses which undoubtedly determined and express Islam's chief objections to paganism, Judaism and Christianity. Certainly the statement, " He did not beget, " with the implication " as pagans believe their gods beget," is a strongly expressed objection to Arabian pre-Islamic belief that Allah had daughters who received worship as goddesses. Similarly, the declaration, " He did not beget, " addressed to any Christians who accepted the Messiah as the Son of Allah and thus implying that they believed *'Īsā*, Jesus, to be another, a second, god, along with *Maryam*, Mary, as a mother goddess for Allah, is a strong and indeed valid rebuke to any tri-theism among Christians. Likewise, those same words with the implied addition of *'Uzayr*, Ezra, as the object of the verb, would discourage any Jews who might be inclined to raise Ezra to divine status. Outside of the Qur'ān there is no evidence that any did.

The *Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, by M. S. Howell (Allahabad, 1880), is an invaluable compendium of grammatical information. It presents the material in

Arabic-Arabic grammars as E. W. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* does from the Arabic-Arabic dictionaries. It is now excessively rare and should be republished, preferably with revision of its technical terminology. The uses of *lam* are presented in Part II, pp. 533 ff. *Lam* is a negative particle, making the action of the verb to be 1. discontinuous, which means *māḍī* or past; 2. continuous, meaning present; and 3. perpetual. As examples of this usage, *Sūrah* CXII, verses 3 and 4 are cited. The translation of verse three would then be, " He never did and never will beget and He never has been and never will be begotten. " Theology has probably influenced this interpretation. It is added here for completeness. It illustrates the exegetical liberty that Muslim scholars may exercise.

Verse Four of *Sūratu 'l-Ikhlāṣ* reads, *wa lam yakun lahū kufu'an aḥad*^{un}, " and there was no one sufficient for Him. " This verse clinches the *Sūrah's* denial of Allah's paternity and sonship in any literal sense. Human terminology is applied to Allah throughout the Qur'ān, but all such anthropomorphisms are never to be understood in any literal sense. Al-Bayḍāwī's Commentary says the verse means that Allah did not have a *ṣāḥibah*, " companion," or " consort ", and this conclusion is acceptable, doctrinally and grammatically, to all.

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LA PENSÉE RELIGIEUSE D'AVERROÈS

II. La théorie de Dieu dans le *Tahâfut*

Le Coran apporte avant tout une Loi. Dieu s'y révèle comme le législateur qui ordonne, surveille et sanctionne l'exécution de ses commandements. Il y démontre qu'il est raisonnable de lui obéir, parce qu'Il est le Créateur unique et tout-puissant à qui tout appartient. Il se désigne lui-même au moyen de noms qui se rapportent, non pas à ce qu'Il est en lui-même, mais aux relations qui font des hommes ses créatures, ses sujets et ses serviteurs. Il semblerait donc normal de considérer les attributs, qu'on a inférés de ces noms, comme des attributs de l'action *ad extra*. Pourtant certains qualificatifs, en particulier ceux de « savant », « puissant », « vivant » ont suggéré à plusieurs théologiens l'idée d'attributs de l'essence. De là sont nés d'inextricables problèmes.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est sûr que la Révélation coranique est muette sur l'essence même de Dieu. Nous savons seulement que Dieu est au-dessus de toutes les vaines imaginations ou pensées humaines. On objectera peut-être que nous savons aussi qu'Il existe, et que l'existence ne peut pas ne pas s'enraciner dans son être profond. Mais Dieu n'existe pour nous qu'en tant que Créateur, et il ne s'est pas donné, dans le Livre sacré, le nom d'Existant. Pour reprendre un argument familier à Ibn Ḥazm, personne n'invoquerait Dieu en disant « O Existant, pardonne-moi ». Nous sommes loin, dans le Coran, de la révélation du nom divin : *Ehye ašer ehye*, de la Bible (*Exode*, III, 14). Sur cet *Ego sum qui sum*, les théologiens pouvaient construire toute une théorie de l'Être, encore que les paroles de Yahveh n'autorisent pas expressément l'emploi d'un argument ontologique pour prouver et scruter son existence, car, à la lettre, le nom intime

de Dieu n'a été connu de Moïse que par Révélation, et non par une intuition intelligible.

Mais le Coran, lui, est absolument réfractaire à toute spéculation de ce genre et ne lui donne aucune prise. L'homme est, au contraire, invité sans cesse à observer la nature, le ciel et la terre, les effets de la toute-puissance divine et ses multiples bienfaits. Il n'a pas à connaître Dieu directement, mais à travers des signes *(âyât)* de sa souveraineté et de sa générosité ou de sa colère : l'eau des nuages qui fertilise, l'ordre des saisons, les fruits du palmier, la reproduction du bétail, la foudre et les villes détruites pour leur impiété. La méthode de recherche que Dieu propose à celui qui veut le connaître, est une méthode inductive à partir des créatures.

Sans doute certains commentateurs musulmans du Coran ont-ils tenté d'introduire de force des interprétations fondées sur des idées de type néoplatonicien. C'est ainsi qu'Ibn 'Arabî fait une distinction entre *Allah* et *Rabb*, celle-là même que Philon d'Alexandrie utilisait à propos des deux termes *Theos* et *Kurios*. *Allah* désigne Dieu en lui-même, dans son essence, indépendamment du fait qu'Il donne une assise à l'existence des hommes *(fî ḏâtihi 'an iṯbât wuǧûdikum)*. *Al-Rabb*, au contraire, c'est Dieu pris avec ses attributs, et les attributs divins concernent l'ascension mystique de l'âme qui, purifiée par eux de tout ce qui est humain, s'anéantit en eux et accède par eux à l'union. Mais il est certain que le commentaire d'Ibn 'Arabî est un *ta'wîl* que l'orthodoxie ne saurait tolérer. On peut assurer qu'il en serait de même pour toute théologie, rationnelle ou mystique, qui croirait voir, dans tel ou tel verset, une signification qui conduise à l'intimité de l'essence de Dieu.

S'il en est ainsi, toute philosophie de type platonicien, qui reconnaît, dans l'âme humaine, des Idées intelligibles grâce auxquelles la pensée peut avoir prise sur le divin, sera suspecte en Islam. Au contraire, une philosophie de type aristotélicien, qui tire les concepts de l'expérience sensible, devrait y être bien accueillie. Ce point de vue, encore très général, suffit à persuader qu'il allait être facile au péripatétisme d'Averroès de défendre son orthodoxie dans la théorie de Dieu.

Entrons dans le détail. C'est au sujet de la notion avicennienne

de l'être qui existe nécessairement *(wâǧib al-wuǧûd)*, que la discussion s'engage. Elle est assez subtile. La proposition que « Dieu existe nécessairement », c'est-à-dire qu'Il ne peut pas ne pas être, qu'Il ne peut pas s'anéantir, est admise par tous les croyants, même par ceux qui sont les plus opposés à toute spéculation humaine, tel Ibn Ḥazm. Mais la question n'est pas là. Il s'agit de savoir d'abord comment on parvient à cette proposition et à la notion d'être nécessaire ; ensuite quelle place tient cette notion dans notre connaissance de Dieu, quel rôle elle joue dans la solution des problèmes de son essence, de ses attributs, de ses actions. Or Avicenne abordait la notion de *wâǧib al-wuǧûd* avec un esprit platonicien, par une division de l'être. C'est contre ce procédé que portera essentiellement la critique d'Averroès. Quel est cet être qu'on divise ? Il faut bien que ce soit un être dont on part. Mais peut-on partir de l'être sans en faire du même coup une notion univoque? Or, si l'être signifie l'existence, comme c'est bien le cas ici, Aristote a montré qu'on ne peut en former un concept, et par conséquent, qu'on ne peut le diviser. Gazâlî, dans ses *Maqâṣid al-Falâsifa*, a mis le doigt sur le nœud du problème, sans en remarquer d'ailleurs la difficulté. Dans son exposé des doctrines des Philosophes, il ne rapporte pas explicitement la théorie de l'analogie de l'être. Il signale, entre les termes univoques et les termes équivoques, ceux en qui il y a simplement correspondance *(al-muttafaqa)*. Ces termes ne s'appliquent pas *également* à une pluralité d'êtres, comme les univoques, mais ils ne s'appliquent pas non plus selon une diversité totale de sens, comme les équivoques. Ils s'appliquent selon une relation d'antériorité et de postériorité. Ainsi l'existence se dit d'abord de la substance, ensuite de l'accident, puisque l'accident n'existe que dans la substance. Il s'agit donc seulement de l'analogie d'attribution, non de l'analogie de proportionnalité, qui est incontestablement la plus intéressante pour une théorie de l'être : l'être de la substance est à la substance, ce que l'être de la quantité est à la quantité, ce que l'être de la qualité est à la qualité, etc.. Gazâlî, examinant la division de l'être en nécessaire et possible, remarque donc que les deux termes de cette division ne se situent pas sur le même plan, contrairement, notons-le, à ce qui devrait avoir lieu.

En effet, l'être possible est subordonné à l'être nécessaire. Mais ce résultat détruit la validité de la division. Dans le *Tahâfut al-Falâsifa*, Gazâlî pressent un défaut dans la méthode, quand il objecte que la division d'Avicenne ne va pas de soi et qu'elle aurait besoin d'une preuve. Or, chez Platon, cette méthode est *a priori* et se suffit à elle-même.

Averroès va beaucoup plus loin que Gazâlî dans la critique. Il ne se contente pas de dénoncer un manque de preuve ; il accuse Avicenne d'avoir introduit en philosophie sur ce point une innovation blâmable. S'il y a subordination du possible au nécessaire, d'où vient l'idée de cette subordination ? Serait-ce de la notion même de l'être ? Mais que peut bien signifier un être qui ne serait en soi ni nécessaire ni possible et se diviserait ensuite en nécessaire et en possible ? Ce ne saurait être un être existant, mais une simple notion dans l'âme, et la plus vague, celle qu'Averroès décrit comme la pensée de la réalité d'une chose hors de nous, conforme à l'idée que nous en avons ou que nous nous en faisons. Elle est aussi ce que désigne la copule existentielle *(al-râbiṭa al-wuǧûdîya)* dans les jugements d'inhérence *(al-qaḍâyâ al-ḥamlîya)* (*Tahâfut*, p. 302, § 29). C'est ainsi que nous demandons si telle chose existe ou n'existe pas, si elle existe de cette façon ou d'une autre *(ibid.)*. Il est évident que diviser une telle notion constitue une opération vaine qui ne mord pas sur l'être réel.

Il faudrait donc dire que dès qu'on pense l'être, on pense l'être nécessaire, d'autant plus qu'il doit jouir d'une antériorité. Mais alors, est-ce dans l'être nécessaire lui-même qu'on trouve le principe de subordination qui pose au-dessous de lui un être possible ? Il en résulterait que l'être possible devient nécessaire par suite de l'existence de l'être nécessaire. C'est bien la pensée d'Avicenne, quand il parle d'un être possible en soi et nécessaire par un autre que lui. Mais d'une part, cela revient à prendre univoquement l'être nécessaire. Certes la pensée doit juger que l'être est. Pourtant ce n'est là qu'une nécessité de pensée, et revenir à un éléatisme qui faisait des règles de la pensée logique les lois de l'être réel, c'est se condamner à la stérilité que Platon avait tenté de vaincre. Or c'est bien en définitive cette stérilité que dénonce Averroès. Pour trouver l'être et toute sa richesse,

il faut sortir de la pensée. L'être « auquel s'oppose le néant », non la notion abstraite d'être qui s'oppose à un non-être conceptuel, « c'est ce qui se divise dans les dix genres premiers » (*ibid.* p. 303, 32). A deux reprises, Averroès écrit que cet être est, par rapport aux dix catégories, « *comme* leur genre ». Le mot « comme » est ici très important. L'être n'est pas leur genre, puisqu'il est analogique ; mais il est *comme* leur genre, en ce sens qu'il possède une certaine antériorité relativement aux « choses qui sont hors de la pensée ». Bien que l'existence n'existe pas en elle-même et qu'elle soit toujours l'existence de quelque chose, sans elle, rien n'existerait. Ainsi le genre n'existe pas séparé, mais sans le genre il n'y aurait ni espèces ni individus. Mais c'est parce que l'existence ne peut pas du tout se dégager des rapports d'analogie dans lesquels elle se définit, que, dans le monde réel, certains êtres n'existent que dans la dépendance des autres : « et cet être est ce qui est dit, selon l'antériorité et la postériorité, des dix catégories ; en ce sens nous disons de la substance qu'elle existe par elle-même, et de l'accident qu'il existe par son existence dans ce qui existe par soi » *(ibid.)*. Par conséquent, la relation d'antériorité et de postériorité ne résulte pas immédiatement de la division de l'être. L'être se divise d'abord en dix prédicaments, et c'est au niveau de ces prédicaments qu'il se dit des uns et des autres selon l'avant et l'après. En outre, cette relation ne s'applique pas exclusivement à la distinction du nécessaire et du possible. La substance créée, qui n'est pas un être nécessaire, est antérieure à ses accidents. Elle est antérieure en premier lieu à la quantité ; mais la quantité, à son tour, est antérieure à la qualité, car il n'existe pas de qualité sans une certaine quantité (par exemple, de couleur sans une étendue colorée). Ainsi cette existence, qui fait que tous les êtres existent, n'est pas comparable à une source séparée, d'où chaque être tirerait son existence. Elle est sans cesse engagée dans des rapports d'analogie avec chacun des genres de l'être, elle est l'existence d'une substance, ou d'une quantité, ou d'une qualité, et c'est parce qu'elle reste ainsi engagée, qu'elle confère un ordre hiérarchique aux réalités du monde. En un mot, l'analogie de proportionnalité commande l'analogie d'attribution qui, à son tour, règle l'organisation de

l'univers. Averroès, en bon aristotélicien, ne cherche donc pas à déduire les catégories de la notion d'être, et il ne divise pas l'être pris en lui-même, mais pris au niveau des catégories. Et comme les catégories sont les genres premiers, tirés par abstractions successives des êtres qui existent concrètement dans l'expérience sensible, la division et l'organisation qu'il propose ne sont pas des œuvres vaines de la pensée, mais l'expression exacte de la réalité. Elles conservent toute la riche diversité du véritable réel.

D'autre part, si le possible sort nécessairement du nécessaire, comme l'admet Avicenne, peut-on vraiment soutenir que cette procession est entièrement déterminée par la seule notion de *wâǧib al-wuǧûd?* Elle paraît bien pauvre, à première vue, pour suffire à la totale déduction du monde. Car il faut s'entendre exactement. Si le *wâǧib al-wuǧûd* n'est qu'un nom donné au Principe Premier, ou même si ce n'est qu'une de ses qualifications parmi d'autres, nous pourrons dire que tout provient de cet être que nous appelons ou que nous qualifions ainsi. Mais si nous posons que le Principe Premier est *wâǧib al-wuǧûd* en ce sens qu'il n'est que cela, que son être consiste à être nécessairement, ou, selon ce que rapporte Gazâlî, que son essence est la nécessité d'existence *(wuǧûb al-wuǧûd)*, on voit mal ce que la pensée pourrait extraire d'entités aussi vagues et abstraites. L'unique ressource sera de dire que le Principe, dont l'essence est d'être nécessairement, ne peut être saisi par nos intelligences, et que la nécessité d'existence, où nous ne voyons que négations et vide, est en réalité plénitude d'être. Nous sommes ramenés à l'Un de Plotin, dont on ne parle que par images. Or quel intérêt avons-nous à dire que l'Un est comme l'unité d'une science dont les théorèmes sont multiples, si dans cette unité nous ne pouvons pas comprendre cette multiplicité. Gazâlî avait bien vu l'écueil de semblable doctrine : si l'existence nécessaire est ce qui n'a pas de cause, selon la définition des *falâsifa*, pouvons-nous espérer connaître par cette pure négation, ce qui fait l'être du Principe Premier ? Pouvons-nous en tirer quoi que ce soit ? Nous rejoignons par là ce que nous venons de constater plus haut : la richesse de la division catégoriale de

l'être chez Averroès tranche sur la pauvreté de la division précatégoriale d'Avicenne.

Bien qu'Averroès ne se rende pas aux objections de Gazâlî, il ne fait pas de doute qu'en les réfutant, il est arrivé à formuler une critique des *falâsifa* qui touche davantage au fond du problème. Pour lui, en effet, on ne peut reprocher à Avicenne d'avoir défini l'être nécessaire négativement par l'absence de cause, sauf que le mot « cause » a quatre sens depuis Aristote, et qu'il faut préciser celui ou ceux qui sont en jeu. Mais s'il n'y a pas d'autre moyen de parler de l'être nécessaire, il y a d'autres voies que celle d'Avicenne pour y accéder. Averroès signale celle des Mu'tazilites qui partent du possible *réel* et aboutissent à un être nécessaire en ce sens qu'il n'a pas de cause efficiente. C'est la démonstration de l'existence de Dieu par la contingence du monde. L'être possible n'est plus ici une des deux notions qui divisent l'être. C'est l'être concret de ce monde et de ce qu'il contient. L'expérience commune suffit à convaincre de l'instabilité de tout ce qui est dans le monde, où rien ne se tient par soi-même. Par suite, rien ici-bas n'est nécessaire par soi. Et cependant le monde existe. Il faut donc conclure à un être nécessaire dont son existence dépend. Sur ce point, Averroès est d'accord avec les Mu'tazilites, contre Avicenne. On peut donc parler d'un être nécessaire sans cause, non en vertu d'une division de l'être, mais à la suite d'un examen des êtres du monde. C'est par rapport à eux que le Principe Premier sera dit nécessaire et sans cause. Mais ces dénominations n'exprimeront pas son essence prise en elle-même. Il n'est nécessaire et sans cause que parce qu'il est la cause nécessaire et suffisante d'êtres qui n'ont en eux-mêmes ni leur existence ni leur subsistance, et qui pourtant existent et subsistent. Notons que la critique d'Averroès ne détruit pas la valeur de celle de Gazâlî. La définition par l'absence de cause est une faiblesse chez Avicenne, elle n'en est pas une chez Averroès. C'est que chez le premier, l'absence se dit absolument d'une essence, chez le second elle se dit relativement, dans le rapport qui s'étend de la créature au Créateur.

La doctrine d'Averroès sur Dieu concorde donc exactement sur ce point avec ce qu'enseigne le Coran. Dieu n'est pas absolu-

ment l'Être nécessaire. Nous l'appelons ainsi dans la mesure où il est le Créateur. Mais nous nous refusons toute spéculation sur l'en-soi de sa nécessité d'existence. Nous ne nous demandons pas comment s'unissent en lui l'essence et l'existence. Nous ne disons pas que son essence est condition de son existence, ni inversement que son existence est condition de son essence. Car les deux notions d'essence et d'existence ne sont distinctes que dans la pensée. Plus exactement encore, c'est relativement à nos facultés d'appréhension que nous distinguons, parce que les choses universelles n'existent que dans leurs individus que nous saisissons par les sens, tandis que les individus ne sont intelligibles que par les universaux que nous saisissons par l'intellect. Mais la réalité est une. L'existence ne s'ajoute pas à l'essence, comme le pense Avicenne, à la façon d'un attribut accidentel. Encore une fois, qu'est-ce que l'existence, si elle n'est pas existence de quelque chose ? Comment existerait-elle à part, sans être l'existence de rien ? Par conséquent, on ne peut concevoir qu'elle vienne s'ajouter. De plus à quoi viendrait-elle s'ajouter si, avant cette adjonction, l'essence n'existe pas encore ? La seule différence concevable entre ces deux notions revient, par suite, à la différence entre ce qui n'existe que dans la pensée, et ce qui existe dans les choses hors de l'âme, *fî'l-aḏhân*, et *fî'l-a'yân* (*Tahâfut*, p. 304, § 32). Comme Dieu transcende et les pensées et les choses, l'essence et l'existence, qui déjà ne se distinguaient pas réellement dans les existants créés, seront, à ce niveau, parfaitement indiscernables. Aussi dire que Dieu existe par son essence, n'a plus aucun sens précis, puisqu'il n'y a plus à unir indissolublement, à identifier en lui, ce qui serait séparé dans la nature. Nous allons d'ailleurs retrouver cette question à propos de la science divine, et nous en donnerons alors la solution complète.

Les principes averroïstes que nous venons d'examiner à propos de l'essence et de l'existence, dominent le problème des attributs de Dieu. L'unité divine est liée à l'unicité. Mais quelle est, de ces deux qualifications, celle qui fonde l'autre ? Le Coran insiste surtout sur l'unicité *(tawḥîd)*. Les Mu'tazilites, au nom de l'unicité, dépouillaient l'essence divine de tout ce qui aurait risqué d'être pensé comme s'y associant. Ils allaient donc du

tawḥîd à l'unité d'essence. Chez les *falâsifa*, on constate le mouvement inverse. Partant du *wâǧib al-wuǧûd*, ils démontrent qu'il est absolument un et en excluent toute sorte de multiplicité que ce soit, sous prétexte qu'elle introduirait une composition, que toute composition requiert une cause, et que par conséquent l'être nécessaire, étant composé, ne serait plus sans cause, donc ne serait plus nécessaire. Cela étant démontré, il en résulte qu'il ne peut exister deux êtres nécessaires. Car, ou bien ils seraient semblables de toute part, et la dualité s'évanouirait, ou bien ils diffèreraient. Dans ce cas, leurs différences seront ou individuelles ou spécifiques. Si elles sont individuelles, ils seront unis dans l'espèce ; si elles sont spécifiques, ils seront unis dans le genre. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux existants nécessaires seront composés. Mais c'est impossible, contraire à l'unité intérieure requise. Donc il ne peut exister deux êtres nécessaires.

La négation des attributs est, on le voit, beaucoup plus radicale chez les *falâsifa* que chez les Mu'tazilites. C'est une négation première, directe, métaphysique, d'où résulte le *tawḥîd*, alors que dans le mu'tazilisme, elle est seconde, conséquence d'une réflexion sur le *tawḥîd*, plus théologique que métaphysique.

La solution d'Averroès s'apparente en partie à celle des Mu'tazilites. Mais elle est plus métaphysiquement structurée. Il commence par reconnaître qu'il est impossible de poser en Dieu des attributs qui s'ajoutent à l'essence, c'est-à-dire des attributs accidentels. On ne peut pas dire non plus que ces attributs s'ajoutent nécessairement, car il y aurait alors plusieurs existants nécessaires et le *tawḥîd* serait détruit. Peut-on alors admettre en Dieu des attributs qui appartiendraient à l'essence, sans s'y ajouter ? S'ils existent en acte dans l'essence, ils vont y introduire une multiplicité qui sera une négation du *tawḥîd*. Ici, Averroès prend l'exemple de la Trinité des Chrétiens. Si les trois Personnes existaient en acte, il y aurait trois dieux. Mais, dit-il, « elles ne sont multipliées que par la définition » (*Tahâfut*, p. 301, 26), et il conclut : « Elles sont multiples en puissance, non en acte. Aussi disent-ils que les trois sont un, c'est-à-dire un en acte, trois en puissance » *(ibid.)*.

Ce passage contient deux arguments différents : d'une part,

l'idée d'une multiplication par la définition. Cela nous renvoie à la distinction fondamentale entre ce qui est dans la pensée et ce qui est hors de la pensée. Déjà la définition par le genre prochain et la différence spécifique, dans le cas des êtres de ce monde, renferme une multiplicité qui n'existe que dans la pensée, car l'être défini est un, et l'universel qui entre dans la définition n'existe que dans l'âme. Néanmoins, il n'est pas possible de transporter en Dieu une multiplicité de cette sorte, parce qu'elle est liée à la composition de la matière et de la forme, et que cette composition ne se trouve pas en Dieu. En outre, il n'y a pas d'universel dans l'être divin. En effet, l'universel est en puissance, et Dieu est acte. Mais si la définition de Dieu ne peut procéder par genre et différence, elle gardera des définitions ordinaires le caractère d'une multiplicité dans la pensée, correspondant à une unité dans le défini. Or, pour peu qu'on abandonne la notion avicennienne d'un être nécessaire absolument un dans son unité abstraite, on devra admettre toute la richesse réelle d'être qui convient au Principe Premier. Cette richesse, la pensée ne saurait l'embrasser dans sa totalité et son unité. Par suite, l'expression qu'elle en donnera prendra la forme d'une multiplicité de jugements, tels que Dieu est savant, puissant, vivant, etc.

Cela nous amène, d'autre part, au second argument d'Averroès. Les attributs ne sont pas multiples en acte, mais en puissance. Est-ce à dire qu'il y a de la puissance en Dieu ? Assurément non. Cette puissance est toute du côté de la pensée qui énumère l'un après l'autre les attributs. Cela ne signifie d'ailleurs pas que les attributs n'existent que dans la pensée et pour elle. Notre conception des attributs de Dieu n'est pas vaine : elle nous fait bien saisir une réalité en Dieu. Si la multiplicité que nous pensons n'est pas en Dieu telle que nous la pensons, elle a pourtant un fondement en lui. « Qu'une essence une soit en possession de nombreux attributs qui s'y rapportent *(muḍâfa)*, ou qui en sont tirés ou pensés, avec des intentions différentes, sans qu'elle soit multipliée par la multiplication de ces attributs, c'est quelque chose que rien ne réprouve... Un être un en soi, quand on le considère sous l'angle où un autre être sort de lui, est dit puissant et agent ; quand on le considère sous l'angle

où il détermine particulièrement l'un de deux actes opposés, on le dit voulant ; quand c'est sous l'angle où il saisit ce qu'il fait, on le dit savant. Et quand on considère la science en tant qu'elle est saisie et cause du mouvement, on la dit vivante... » (*Tahâfut*, pp. 314-15, § 8).

Tout repose en définitive sur les idées de richesse et de perfection. « Poser comme ils le font que l'essence ne peut être constituée par ces attributs, ce n'est pas exact, car toute essence se parfait *(istakmalat)* par des attributs grâce auxquels elle devient plus parfaite *(akmal)* et plus éminente » (*Tahâfut*, p. 328, § 38). L'expression est claire : il s'agit bien de *toute essence*. Sans doute faut-il ensuite distinguer entre les attributs qui s'ajoutent *(zâ'ida)* à l'essence pour la parfaire, ce qui n'est pas le cas en Dieu, et ceux qui sont essentiels. « Il y a deux sortes de perfections *(kamâl)*, la perfection par son essence, et la perfection par des attributs qui en donnent la jouissance... Ce qui est parfait par autrui, a besoin, selon les principes qui précèdent, d'un être qui lui donne la jouissance des attributs de la perfection, sinon il serait en défaut. Quant à la perfection par son essence, c'est comme l'être par son essence, car il est bien juste que l'être par soi soit parfait par soi. Par conséquent, s'il y a là un être existant par soi, il sera nécessairement parfait par soi, riche par soi, sinon il serait composé d'une essence défectueuse et d'attributs qui lui apportent sa perfection. S'il en est ainsi, l'attribut et ce dont il est attribut, sont une seule et même chose. Et quand on rapporte à cet être des actions qui proviennent nécessairement d'attributs distincts en lui, c'est par voie de relation » (*ibid.* p. 330, § 41).

Ce texte résume toute la question. On y trouve le rapprochement de la perfection et de l'être, qui est la base de la solution averroïste. Les attributs sont fondés dans la perfection de l'essence. Ils ne se distinguent pour la pensée, que relativement à des actions. Comme il s'agit ici d'actions *ad extra*, en rapport avec la création, on peut conclure que ces attributs relatifs sont, quoique fondés réellement dans l'essence, des attributs de l'action plutôt que de l'essence. La philosophie thomiste, inspirée par Averroès et méditant sur le donné révélé chrétien, reprendra une solution analogue à propos de la Trinité.

Admettant une vie en Dieu, qui se traduit par des actions intimes *ad intra*, St. Thomas décrira les trois Personnes comme des relations.

Parmi les attributs divins, Averroès étudie surtout la science. En quel sens peut-on dire que Dieu, en se connaissant, connaît toutes choses ? Considérons d'abord la science chez l'homme. Il est faux de dire que Zayd, quand il se connaît lui-même individuellement, connaît par là toutes choses. Mais il est exact que la science, par laquelle l'homme connaît tous les autres êtres, est la science qu'il a de lui-même (*Tahâfut*, p. 335, § 51). Le fondement de cette doctrine est un intellectualisme pur. D'une part, dans la connaissance, l'intellect devient « l'autre en tant qu'autre » selon la formule péripatéticienne. D'autre part, l'être en lui-même est science, et dès qu'il est séparé de la matière, il n'est que science. Si la connaissance de soi n'était pas identique à la connaissance de l'autre, si elle était plus vaste *(akṯar)*, l'essence serait plus vaste, elle aussi, que la connaissance des êtres existants. Que sera ce surplus du côté de l'essence ? Pure connaissance de soi ? Mais l'être étant essentiellement connaissant, se connaître, c'est connaître qu'on connaît. Or il faut bien connaître *quelque chose.* Si on le refuse, et qu'on dise à nouveau que c'est soi-même qu'on connaît, la connaissance de soi signifiera que l'on connaît qu'on *se* connaît, et il faudra l'exprimer par : Je connais que je connais que je connais. A nouveau on demandera si on aboutit à connaître *quelque chose.* Si oui, la connaissance de soi sera finalement une connaissance de l'autre. Sinon, on continuera sans fin : la connaissance de soi sera une réflexion infinie sans objet. Tel est le sens qu'il faut donner, semble-t-il, à l'argument d'Averroès.

En fait, l'homme peut ignorer beaucoup de choses et se connaître. Dans la mesure où la science est différente du connu, il est possible d'ignorer un connaissable et cependant de se connaître. Mais cette distinction de la science et de son objet ne se vérifie qu'au niveau des intellects engagés dans la matière. Elle doit être niée de Dieu. « Cela est clair dans le cas du Créateur *(al-Ṣâni')*, car son essence qui le fait nommer Créateur n'est pas quelque chose de plus vaste que la science qu'il a des êtres créés » (*ibid.* p. 336, § 51).

Il convient de remarquer, en vertu du principe que l'être est essentiellement connaître, que l'attribut de science ne doit pas se séparer de l'acte de connaissance. Les théologiens raisonnaient en disant que si Dieu est savant, il faut qu'il ait une science qui fasse qu'il sait. Mais l'attribut qui fait savoir est « plus digne » que toute autre chose d'exercer lui-même la science. Le *'ilm* sera donc *'âlim*. Il ne faut pas réifier les attributs en Dieu. La science est l'acte de savoir ; la puissance, l'acte de produire. S'il en est ainsi, on comprendra aisément que la science jouisse d'une prééminence sur tous les autres attributs, puisque tous les actes d'un intellect tombent sous sa science.

La science de Dieu est mystérieuse: Elle est une. Néanmoins elle est riche d'une multiplicité ineffable, qu'il ne faut pas confondre sophistiquement avec la multiplicité numérique des objets connus. Pour nous, la multiplicité de ces objets vient de la matière ; elle ne peut affecter la science divine.

Mais en résulte-t-il que Dieu ne connaît que les choses universelles ? La réponse d'Averroès est, sur ce point, très originale. L'universel n'a de sens que relativement à l'abstraction qui caractérise la connaissance humaine. Or la science de Dieu ne saurait être abstractive. En outre, la connaissance par l'universel est en puissance, puisque ce qui existe, c'est l'individu. Or la science de Dieu est en acte. Faut-il dire alors que Dieu connaît les particuliers ? Non, puisqu'ils sont matériels. De plus, une telle connaissance introduirait dans la science divine une multiplicité numérique. Une telle multiplicité ne pouvant appartenir à l'essence de Dieu, il s'ensuivrait que la connaissance des particuliers serait reçue et s'ajouterait à l'essence. Mais c'est impossible, et Averroès souligne avec force que l'intellect divin ne peut recevoir une perfection de ce qu'il intellige. Là est le fondement même de son unité.

Que dire, dans ces conditions, de la science de Dieu ? Qu'elle n'est ni particulière ni universelle. Pourtant, comme elle est en acte et non en puissance, elle ressemble davantage à notre connaissance des particuliers, qui est en acte, qu'à notre connaissance des universaux, qui est en puissance. Les êtres ont divers degrés d'existence : dans la matière, dans l'âme, en Dieu.

On peut alors conclure que Dieu connaît les êtres individuellement, dans leur existence éminente qu'ils ont en lui. Si, à strictement parler, Dieu ne connaît pas les particuliers d'une science particulière, il n'en est pas moins vrai que sa science *s'étend* aux particuliers, d'une manière inconcevable pour l'homme, mais qui se laisse pressentir, puisqu'il est le Créateur de ce qui existe, et que seuls existent les particuliers. Cette solution servira de modèle pour tous les autres attributs : Dieu n'a pas de volontés particulières, de puissances particulières, mais sa volonté et sa puissance s'étendent aux particuliers, par le mystère de son acte créateur.

Au point où nous en sommes, il serait très intéressant de montrer combien la pensée d'Averroès est proche, non seulement de celle de St. Thomas qui a subi directement son influence, mais de celle de penseurs modernes, tels que Spinoza et Leibnitz : tantôt les solutions sont analogues, tantôt les problèmes sont vus et posés de façon semblable. Qu'il nous suffise ici d'attirer l'attention sur ce fait. Et s'il est exact, on sera justifié à prétendre que la pensée d'Averroès est religieuse, comme celle de St. Thomas, de Spinoza et de Leibnitz, quelles que se révèlent les différences. Les problèmes religieux de Dieu et de la Création sont abordés et traités philosophiquement, sans perdre pour autant leur signification religieuse.

Par rapport à la Révélation Coranique, la pensée averroïste, renonçant à tout concordisme artificiel, procédant selon sa méthode démonstrative propre, aboutit à une doctrine qui, dans l'ensemble, ne s'oppose pas à l'esprit bien compris de l'islam, puisqu'elle lui apporte, sans avoir à torturer les textes, une interprétation, presque une confirmation rationnelle sur les points essentiels. Il reste évidemment que le mode de connaissance de la vérité dans la Révélation est différent du mode démonstratif qui caractérise la philosophie.

(A suivre)

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SOURCES OF GOLD AND SILVER IN ISLAM ACCORDING TO AL-HAMDĀNĪ

(10th century A. D.)

From what appears to be an isolated passage in the *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena) of Ibn Khaldūn where incidentally he mentions gold- and silver-mines, it is plain that he regarded the Sudan as the principal, if not the only source of gold in his time (14th century) (1). On a matter of this kind Ibn Khaldūn's opinion is likely to be reliable. The testimony of al-Bakrī (2) (11th century) and al-Idrīsī (3) (12th century) goes far to confirm the importance of gold from the Sudan. Other sources of gold were available, at least in the early days of Islam, as we shall have occasion to see, but it may be taken that Ibn Khaldūn's opinion was correct for his time, at least as far as the West of Islam is concerned.

The Sudan as source of gold for the Mediterranean countries was of course a comparatively new phenomenon, dating from *post* the Muslim conquests. In Classical times the Greeks got

(1) *Muqaddima*, section IV, para. 14 : " Consider how that applies to the countries of the East, such as Egypt, Syria, Persia, India and China, and all the region of the North and the countries beyond the Mediterranean — since they have been developed, wealth has increased among them... The common people who hear (such stories) suppose that it is on account of increase in their wealth, or because gold- and silver-mines are more numerous in their land, or because they have appropriated exclusively the gold of the ancient nations. But it is not so. In fact, the source of the gold which we know in these countries is from the Sudan, which is nearer to the Maghrib (West) ".

(2) *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par Abou Obeid el Bekri*, ed. de Slane, 176-177. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, II (Paris, 1927), 113ff.

(3) *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, 8ff.

— their gold from the East — India, Arabia, Armenia, Colchis and Asia Minor (River Pactolus, etc.). In later Classical antiquity the gold-mines of the upper Nile, described by Diodorus Siculus (1), became available. But even the writ of Rome never ran so far that she could command the gold of the West African river valleys (Niger and Senegal), and the contribution of gold-dust or bar-gold made by these distant regions to the wealth of the ancient world must have remained at best intermittent and uncertain (2).

In a brilliantly argued paper Maurice Lombard has attempted to show how the Muslim conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries of our era produced a completely new monetary and commercial system, not only in their recently established empire but throughout Byzantine territory and the barbarian North and West (3). This was essentially, according to Lombard, a process of circulation of Muslim money, especially gold, from the Muslim lands towards Europe and the Byzantine empire and back again. Gold and silver coinage was first struck in Islam by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik at Damascus in 73/695 (4), and was destined for an enormous expansion. The gold surplus on which the whole system depended was due at first to the return to circulation after the Muslim conquests of a great part of the accumulated treasures of the East, reinforced in the course of the 9th century by the arrival of the gold of the Sudan. Though Byzantium and the West gained in different ways from the increased traffic, the net result was for the time being and until the 11th century Muslim economic supremacy (5).

These are far-reaching considerations. We have certainly proof of monetary transactions with the Muslim empire in the so-called ' Kufic coins ' which have been found, sometimes in very extensive hoards, in most parts of Northern Europe.

(1) *Bibliotheca Historica*, III, 11.

(2) Cf. Herodotus, IV, 196 (the Carthaginians obtain gold in Libya beyond the Pillars of Hercules).

(3) 'L'or musulman du VII^e au XI^e siècle' , *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, t. II (1947), 143-160.

(4) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* (Cairo, 1318/1900), 249. Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, ed. 6, 217.

(5) Lombard, op. cit.

In Great Britain the principal finds have been at Cuerdale, Lancashire (1), at Goldsborough, Yorkshire (2), and in Skye (3). It is usually held that these coins, which seem to be restricted to issues of the Caliphs and the Samanids of Central Asia (Bukhara and Samarqand), reached Britain from the East via the Russian rivers and the Baltic (4). It militates to some extent against the construction of Lombard that practically all the ' Kufic coins ' found in Great Britain, with the exception of Offa's celebrated *dīnār* (5) — if it be his coinage — and one or two more, have been silver *dirhams*. But he himself faces the difficulty, which applies generally to the finds of these coins in Northern Europe, and discovers a ready explanation in the probability that gold *dīnārs* were either melted down for ornaments or returned whence they came by way of the Christian East (6). The Low Latin term *mancus*, applied particularly to a gold coin at this period and later, is generally held to be the Arabic *dīnār*, and the word has been explained as from Arabic *manqūsh*, ' chiselled, engraved ' (7). This is not altogether satisfactory as an explanation (8), and it seems doubtful if the Arabic word ever designated a particular coin.

It is interesting to find that S. D. Goitein, quite independently of Lombard and basing his opinions on other premisses, comes to somewhat similar conclusions (9). After the Islamic conquest the old ruling classes in what were now provinces of the new empire had disappeared. With the spread of commerce and

(1) *Numismatic Chronicle*, V (1842), 1 ff., especially 4, and Plate 10.

(2) *Num. Chron.*, N. S. I (1861), 65-71.

(3) *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1891-1892, 225-240.

(4) W. S. W. Vaux, ' On the discovery of Cufic coins in Sweden and on the shores of the Baltic ', Num. Chron., XIII (1850-1851), 14-23.

(5) Conveniently illustrated in *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), 106.

(6) ' L'or musulman ', etc., 156.

(7) J. Y. Akerman, ' The Gold Mancus ' (following Adrien de Longpérier), *Numismatic Chronicle*, V (1843), 122-124 ; C.-A. Holmboe, ' Le Mancus des Anglo-Saxons ', *Numismatic Chronicle*, XX (1859), 149-150 (*mancus* is from *manica*, ' bracelet ').

(8) See now Ph. Grierson, ' The Myth of the Mancus ', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXII (1954), 1059-1074.

(9) In his book *Jews and Arabs: Their Contact through the Ages* (New York, 1955), reviewed by D. M. Dunlop in *BSOAS.*, XIX, 1957, 344-349.

the rise of capitalism (the mechanics of which are not explained) a new aristocracy of money took their place. This was the ' bourgeois revolution ' of the 9th century A.D., which Goitein compares with the bourgeois revolution of the 19th century (1). A great Middle Eastern mercantile civilization arose, in which the Jews were able to play a full part, especially as middlemen between East and West. Goitein would seem to give the sociological counterpart of the development which Lombard characterized in terms of currency. There is no doubt that the two sets of views afford each other some mutual support.

The writings of the mediaeval Arabs themselves are at a considerable remove from these modern discussions. Practically alone, Ibn Khaldūn might have interested himself in the relation between supplies of the precious metals and the economic life of the Muslim community, but as we saw, he has nothing in detail. Positive information about the sources of gold and silver is not abundant in the Arabic authors generally. Mas'ūdī in his account of the early career of Muḥammad repeatedly speaks of *ma'din banī Sulaim*, ' the mine of the Banū Sulaim ' (2). It was evidently at that time a place of some importance, but of what was mined there Mas'ūdī offers no clue. More systematic writers on geography, such as al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī already mentioned, naturally offer fuller information. There are a number of references to gold in ad-Dimishqī, as Ruska pointed out (3). One of these, surprisingly, is to gold-mines in Crete (4). In Classical accounts the Cretan Dactyls were the fabulous inventors of iron-smelting in Mt. Ida, but no traces of mines, and no gold, are mentioned. Gold-mining in Crete, if a fact, should be due to Muslim initiative.

We have, however, a connected account given by al-Hamdānī in his little-known work, the *Kitāb al-jauharatain al-'atīqatain wa'l-ḥajaratain al-mā'i'atain aṣ-ṣafrā' wa'l-baiḍā'* (5) (Book of

(1) *Jews and Arabs*, 100-103.

(2) *Tanbīh*, ed. De Goeje (*Bibl. Geograph. Arab.*, VIII)., 243, 244, 265.

(3) *Enc. Islam*, art. Dhahab.

(4) Ed. Mehren, 142.

(5) Aliter *Kitāb al-jauharatain al-'atīqatain al-mā'i'atain min aṣ-ṣafrā' wa'l-baiḍā'* in Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Sup. I 409, from the Upsala MS. (see below) (there twice *al-'atīqain*, evidently in error).

the Two Ancient Jewels and Fluid Stones, the Yellow and the White), where he offers a list of mines in Arabia and elsewhere. From al-Hamdānī we shall scarcely gather evidence to confirm or refute *in toto* the views which have been discussed in the foregoing part of this article, but he will be found to illustrate at least one important point of detail (1). And of course the theories to be acceptable must stand comparison with the facts in our texts, especially when these are set out systematically as in the present instance.

The *Kitāb al-jauharatain* is described by Brockelmann as ' eine mineralogisch-alchemistische Abhandlung ' (2). Perhaps it should rather be called a metallurgical treatise, since the fantastic aspect of most Arabic alchemical works is largely lacking, and the author is very definitely interested in the ordinary methods of exploiting the ores for commercial purposes, and indeed *realia* of all kinds. Questions of currency, however, it should be said, hardly concern him.

Al-Hamdānī is otherwise known as the author of two remarkable works, an elaborate *Description of Arabia (Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab)* (3), and *al-Iklīl (the Crown)*, a treatise in 10 Books on the antiquities of South Arabia, his native country (4). On the basis of these it has hitherto been a little difficult to see the appropriateness of a remark by the Qāḍī Ṣā'id (5), who says that among the Arabs of pure race al-Kindī and al-Hamdānī alone have distinguished themselves in philosophy (6). To be thus linked with al-Kindī the ' Philosopher of the Arabs ' by

(1) See n. 1, p. 36.

(2) *GAL.*, Sup. I 409.

(3) Ed. D. H. Müller, 2 vols., Leiden, 1884-1891.

(4) Book 8, ed. by P. Anastase Marie, Baghdad, 1331/1913 and by Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton, 1940, translated *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, Princeton, 1938. Book 10, ed. by Muḥibb ad-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, 1368/1949 (Hitti, op. cit., 50). O. Löfgren has begun to publish Books I and II from the Berlin MS. Or. Oct. 968 (Heft 1, Upsala, 1954).

(5) Ṣā'id b. Ṣā'id, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. P. Louis Cheikho (Beyrouth, 1912), 45 = *Livre des Catégories des Nations*, transl. by R. Blachère (*Publications de l'Institut des Hautes-Études marocaines*, t. XXVIII, Paris, 1935), 95.

(6) His words are *walā a'lam aḥadan min ṣamīm al-'Arab shuhira bihī (ya'nī 'ilm al-falsafah) illā abā Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī wa'abā Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī.*

one of the *cognoscenti* was of course the highest praise. But ' philosophy ' in these contexts has practically always a specific meaning. The *Description of Arabia* indeed evidences in its author unusual knowledge of the text of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Other Greek names which might be expected in an Arabic writer influenced by the *falāsifa* or himself one of them, are conspicuously absent — even, it seems, that of Aristotle. Nor is the *Crown* at all a typical work of ' philosophy '.

The *Kitāb al-jauharatain* helps out considerably here. Greek names jostle with Arabic on its pages, e.g. Aristotle, Alexander, Deranius (= Dorotheus) (1). It becomes quite understandable that the author was characterized as a ' philosopher '. More than that, he possessed by natural endowment or had acquired by study the ability to observe and record accurately. There is no doubt that in this book we are a long way from the confusion of much that goes by the name of Arabic science. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that al-Hamdānī's style is somewhat jejune. What he has to tell us, for example, of Ghānah and 'Allāqī, no doubt the most important of the sources of Mvslim gold with which he deals, is much less informative than what we can read elsewhere (2). This is perhaps connected with his South Arabian patriotism, or, if one prefers it, his provincialism, which tends to concentrate his interest in the present work also upon Arabia. There is no doubt that al-Hamdānī's outlook, compared with, for example, that of his contemporary al-Mas'ūdī, is quite provincial. Al-Hamdānī has, however, the great merit of being able to develop a subject without deviation in all directions, a common fault of Arabic authors, including al-Mas'ūdī. At all events, in the *Kitāb al-jauharatain* al-Hamdānī has put together a great deal of original information on the technical matters of which, for the most part, it treats. and has made a book as distinctive in its way as his better known and more voluminous works on geography and archaeology.

The work is available according to Brockelmann (3) in two

(1) See *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 268, n. 7.
(2) See the passages quoted in notes 2 and 3, p. 29 (Ghānah), and p. 40 ('Allāqī).
(3) See n. 2, p. 33.

manuscripts, Ambrosian C 12, II and Upsala I, 204. Unfortunately this is only apparently so. The Ambrosian manuscript breaks off after a few pages, and there follows, now within ruled margins (like the first item contained in this manuscript), another work which, since it quotes the *Kitāb shams al-ma'ārif* of al-Būnī (1) (died 622/1225), is certainly later than the *Kitāb al-jauharatain* and not by al-Hamdānī. This unknown work quotes as well a *Kitāb al-asrār fī ṣinā'ah ash-sharīfah* (2), corrected in the margin to *Kitāb sirr al-asrār fī ṣinā'ah ash-sharīfah*. Whichever of these alternative titles is correct, the last-named book is evidently not the well-known *Sirr al-Asrār* (in Latin *Secretum Secretorum*) (3). The series of passages on mines in Arabia and elsewhere which we shall give later in translation begins in the Upsala codex after the Ambrosian has broken off, so that we are here restricted to a single manuscript, difficult to read owing to the absence of consonantal points as well as vowels.

In the introductory part of the *Kitāb al-jauharatain* al-Hamdānī inserts various quotations, observations and anecdotes concerning the precious metals, of which the following are a sample. 'Ẓarīfah, the divineress (i.e. the wife of 'Amr b. 'Āmir Mā' as-Samā' *alias* Muzaiqiyā) said to her people of the Azd on the day of their separation (sc. before the bursting of the Dam of Ma'rib) (4) : Whoever loves fine garments, blood-horses, gold, silver and the dark (wine ?) poured out, let him betake himself to Iraq ' (5). ' It was said to Shaddād al-Hārithī : What metal do you like most? He said, Gold. And what rational creature (*nātiq*)? He said, Horses. And what property? He said, Palmtrees. And (adds al-Hamdānī) these, with

(1) Fol. 30a.

(2) Fol. 31.

(3) Such statements from the book as that the elixir is produced from the four elements *plus* time, space and agreement *(ijmā')*, or that the philosophers' stone from which the elixir is made consists of 17 ingredients *(fol. 31)* are not found in the *Sirr al-asrār* (ed. 'Abdurraḥmān Badawī, in *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum (al-Uṣūl al-Yūnānīyah lin-naẓarīyāt as-siyāsīyah fī'l-Islām)*, Cairo, 1954 (= *Islamica* 15).

(4) Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 15.

(5) MS. Upsala, folio 9a.

camels, are the familiar forms of wealth among the Arabs, *dīnārs* not being more abundant than they in the lands of the Arabs. As to gold-mines, in Arabia and the vicinity they are on one degree of longitude. In former days the wealth of Khurāsān, Fārs, al-Jīl, Iraq and much of the Persian empire consisted of silver *dirhams*. But when they entered along with the Arabs and mingled with them in Islam, they wished to have *dīnārs* (1). As for the wealth of al-Yaman in gold, it was not exceeded save by the sea (?) (2) and the lands of India, because they found their coinage superior to others in standard and they had much of it... (3). As for silver, it is *luḥain* in the language of Ḥimyar and the genuine Arabs *(al-'Arab al-'Āribah)*, with *ḍammah* of the *lām*, meaning *al-wariq* (silver), and *al-aurāq*. *Al-wariq* is a name given to *dirhams* ' (4).

The continuous passage, or rather the series of passages, about the mines begins in the Upsala manuscript on folio 20b. The place-names in Arabia are vocalised in what follows according to D. H. Müller's edition of al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, but the reference is given only in special cases.

As for/(folio 21a) the mines of gold, they fall within the division corresponding to the sun (5). All growth of gold in them is due to the gradual influence of the sun through its rays and action, according to its position, during the seasons at all times continually. And as for the mines of silver, they fall within the division corresponding to the dark, opaque moon (6). For the ore of the element of silver resembles it in darkness and opacity. This element exists in mountains, either open to view on the surface of the earth or concealed beneath it, like

(1) The displacement of the Sassanid silver coinage by Muslim gold coinage is one of the points made by Lombard in his article mentioned in n. 3, p. 30.

(2) The obscure expression perhaps refers to shipments of gold from the Far East.

(3) MS. Upsala, fol. 6b.

(4) *Ibid.*, fol. 8b.

(5) With reference to the theory that the ' seven metals ' correspond to the ' seven stars ' (e.g. al-Kātib al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 258), which al-Hamdānī develops at some length (MS. Upsala, fols. 11a-12b).

(6) See previous note.

the mountains where salt is found. The silver-mines are indicated by the presence of antimony, because wherever it is found, there is a silver-mine, since antimony is produced from the source of the element of silver. In the ore of the element there is little silver, just as there is little light in the moon from its opacity. The silver cannot be extracted from its element except by fire, just as the moon does not assume its light except from the rays of the sun.

Section. The opinion of the mining experts on the formation of gold and silver in the regions where they are found. Abū Muḥammad (sc. al-Hamdānī) said: As for the mining experts and those who are practically concerned with the working of mines, they deny that gold and silver are formed from an opaque vapour (1). They say that a vapour does not become a solid, heavy, breakable element, like a stone, nor a solid element, of great weight, tough, firm and resistant to fire, like gold. Rather if a vapour is rarefied, it becomes a gas, and if it is condensed, it becomes a moist deposit and water. They said : But gold is built up in the depths of the earth from the four elements, fire,/(folio 21b) air, water and earth...

(folio 23a) ... Section. Abū Muḥammad said: Those who have information about Meccah say that at al-'Air and al-'Airah, two mountains overlooking Meccah, there is a mine. As for the known mines, there is the mine of 'Asham in the country of Kinānah, and I suppose it to be connected with 'Asham of Quḍā'ah because it is called the mine of 'Asham. Its gold is red and excellent. A *ruṭl* of it by the 'Alawī standard (2) amounts to 104 *muṭawwaq dīnārs* (3). It is excellent, productive.

And the mine of Ḍankān in the country of Kinānah and al-Azd/(folio 23b), between the two. A portion of it was

(1) This view has already been put forward by al-Hamdānī (MS. Upsala, 14b-15a), on the authority of Aristotle (?).

(2) So-called perhaps from the 'Alid (Zaidite) dynasty of Ṣa'dah. Cf. below n. 2, p. 43.

(3) I.e. apparently ' with a border '. The *muṭawwaqah* in use at Meccah and equal to two-thirds of the *mithqāl* (cf. infra) was evidently the same (Muqaddasī, ed. De Goeje, III, 99).

found by chance in our own days, bearing the marks of the torrent *(sail)* (1). And the government *(sulṭān)* and people appropriated it. It is inferior to the mine of 'Asham in the excellence of the gold. A *ruṭl* of it by the 'Alawī standard amounts to 101 ½ *dinars*.

And the mine of al-Qufā'ah in the country of al-Juraibah of Khaulān. It is near to al-Khaṣūf, the town of Ḥakam. It is sometimes called the mine of al-Bār. Al-Bār is at the head of the Wādī Khulib, the *wādī* of al-Khaṣūf. It is the best of all the mines, [its produce being] the least pale and the reddest. A *ruṭl* of it amounts by the 'Alawī standard to 106 *(dīnārs)*. And like it and near it is the mine of al-Mukhallafah in the country of Ḥajūr in the country of Hamdān.

And in the country of the Banū Sābiqah in the boundary between Ṣa'dah and Najrān is another excellent mine. A *ruṭl* of it by the 'Alawī standard amounts to 104 *(dīnārs)* and a little less.

These are the gold-mines which are worked in Tihāmah, al-Yaman and Shahr. There are others which are unworked, among them the mine of Ma'ān in Ḥajūr. Ma'ān is a mountain, and the mine is in the mountain-side. It is similar to the mine of Ḍankān.

(Section). The gold-mines of Najd. The first of them is the mine of al-Hujairah of Najd. Pale (gold). A *ruṭl* of it by the 'Alawī standard amounts to 100 *(dīnārs)*, 90 *(dīnārs)* and less. And there is no doubt that the mine of Bīshah Ba'ṭān was like it in the paleness of the gold dust, on account of Gemini (2) (?). The mine of Bīshah is not worked now-a-days. It is some time since its working stopped.

And the mine of al-'Aqīq, 'Aqīq of Jarm, between Najrān and al-Falaj. Its position is [at] Ṣu'ād of al-'Aqīq./(folio 24a) It is very productive. They call a portion there a 'grain of

(1) Probably the ' flood of the dam ' (*sail al-'arim*, *Qur'ān*, Sūra 34, 15/16) i.e. the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib is intended.

(2) Al-Hamdānī tabulates correspondences between various elements *(jawāhir)* and the signs of the Zodiac (Upsala MS., fols. 12b-13b). Since al-Jauzā' (Gemini) is there said to correspond to *inter alia* green emerald *(zumurrud)* and the ' yellow stone ', so perhaps also to pale gold here.

dust' *(duqqah)* even though it contains several *ruṭls*. And the mine of al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥasan is a dark, pretty hill. It is productive, and is reckoned among the mines of al-Yamāmah. And the mine of al-Ḥufair in the direction of 'Amāyah. It is productive. And the mine of aḍ-Ḍubaib on the left hand of Haḍb al-Qulaib. And the mine of the Defile, the Defile of Ibn 'Iṣām al-Bāhilī (1). And the mine of al-'Ausajah in the country of Ghanī, above al-Mughairā in Baṭn as-Sirdāḥ. Al-Mughairā is the water into which, as is said, Shās b. Zuhair (2) cast Tha'labah b. al-A'raj al-Ghanawī. Al-Mughairā is fronted by a hillock called al-Watadah in the bed of the *wādī*. And the mine of Tiyās, where the gold is light. Tiyās is a sand-tract in the camping-grounds of Bakr b. Wā'il. Al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the Companion of the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace), is buried there (3). And the mine on the pilgrim-road to Iraq, between al-'Umaq and Ufai'īyah. I do not know if it is the same as the mine of an-Naqrah on the way to Iraq, or different, or a mine in name only. And the mine of the Banū Sulaim (4) and the mine of the Banū Farān in the country of Balī. Then in the camping-grounds of the Arabs in the Peninsula are many other places where there are mines that are not worked. Their people are bedouin who do not know them, and none of the miners has entered them.

(Section.) The gold-mines in the lands of the non-Arabs. The most productive gold-mine in the world is the mine of Ghānah (5) in the country of the Maghrib (West), the Maghrib of Egypt. There intervene between it deserts and danger from the blacks/(folio 24b) of the Maghrib. When the traveller arrives there, he loads his camel, for the veins, lodes, strips, laminae and tongues of gold are there abundant, so that the

(1) Described by al-Hamdānī in the *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab* (148, 164) as the *sāḥib* or *khādim* of Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, the Ghassānid (6th century, A.D.).

(2) Cf. *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, *Indices*, by Muḥammad Shafī', s.v. The incident should likewise belong to the time of Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (see previous note). Cf. *Ṣifah*, 154.

(3) Cf. Ibn Qutaibah, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 145.

(4) Cf. n. 2, p. 32.

(5) Cf. the passages cited in nn. 2 and 3, p. 29.

gold is picked up and carried away. I was informed of this by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, master of the mint *(ṣāḥib dār aḍ-ḍarb)* in Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah, according to what had reached him and he had been informed of.

And of the mines of the country of Nubia is al-'Allāqī, connected with the Banū 'Allāq of Sulaim b. Manṣūr. It is productive of excellent gold-dust (1). And Mawāt, and 'Alqamah (the 'Alqamī (2) dust is of the best and ruddiest) and Mandūlah, and Sakkār of the land of the Abyssinians and -ūsī (-ūsā), which is the mine of the Abyssinian tax-collectors, and Qift and al-Aqṣur (Luxor) and Armant and Aswān of the country of al-Bujah. And of the places where gold-dust is thought to be, Dahlak, and 'Aidāb, and Bāḍi', and Suwākin. And China (aṣ-Ṣīn) is one of the countries of gold. Tubba' said (3):

A wish was fulfillet for me in China-garments of silk and a treasure of gold.

(Section.) Naming of the silver-mines. Of them is the silver- and copper-mine of Shamām in the country of Najd. Shamām is a large village in which there were 1000 Magians, according to what is said (4). There were in it two fire-temples. Ibnā Shamām (the ' Two Sons ' of Shamām) are two mountains there. It is ruinous. Its prosperity was in the Jāhilīyah and during most of the time of Islam.

And the mine of ar-Raḍrāḍ in al-Yaman. It is like the mine of Shamām, and better than it. Most of the silver-mines are in Khurāsān or in parts unknown in Arabia.

And of the mines of Khurāsān is Andarāb (5) (?), the mine of Balkh, the most productive/(folio 25a) of the mines of Khurāsān. There is excavated each day a great amount of silver.

(1) Cf. *Description de l'Afrique*, etc., ed. Dozy and De Goeje, 26ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III 32ff.

(2) Text: al-'Aqmalī. Several of these names are very uncertain.

(3) A reference to the South Arabian saga of wide-spread conquest. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, 12ff.

(4) Cf. *Ṣifa*, 149, where al-Hamdānī speaks of ' thousands of Magians who were working the mine *(ulūf min al-Majūs alladhīna ya'malūna 'l-ma'din)*.

(5) Text points last consonant as ' t '.

When the people have spent the earlier part of the day gathering the element, they come in the evening with what they have obtained, and it is divided into three parts. The representative *(wakīl)* of the government takes a third, the searchers take a third, and the people of the place retain a third. Some of the latter work their own portion *(ḥaqq)*, but others sell it to merchants, who work it.

And of them is the mine of Ṭūs, wherein as well as silver there is iron, from which coats of mail *(surūd)* are made. And of them is the mine of Samarqand. And of them is the mine of Bukhara, the seat of the family of Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad (1). And of them is the mine of Nisapur. These are well-known and famous. There are no other famous mines except these.

The miners of silver *(mu'addinū 'l-fiḍḍah)* said: There is not in Khurāsān, nor anywhere else, a mine like that of al-Yaman, i.e. the mine of ar-Raḍrāḍ. It is on the boundary of Nihm and the district of Yām in the country of Hamdān. It has been ruinous since 270/883. A special interest in it belongs to Murād, and the Banū Khaulān, a sept of Ibn ar-Ruwaiyah, have a share in it, so that it is sometimes called the mine of Ibn ar-Ruwaiyah. The Banū 'l-Ḥārith and upper Khaulān are near neighbours to it.

When Muḥammad b. Ya 'fur was killed and these tribes had revolted against him, some of them engaged in hostilities against its inhabitants, and killed and plundered some of them The remainder fled and were scattered abroad in different countries. Some of them who had from old times high standing and houses and estates in San ' ā went there. Now the people of the mine were all Persians who had arrived there in the Jāhilīyah and the days of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids. They were called ' the Persians of the mine ' (2). Of those in Ṣan'ā' were the Banū Sardwaih, Banū Amhadwaih, Banū Bājwaih, Banū Bardwaih/(folio 25b) and Banū Jadwaih (3).

(1) I.e. the Sāmānids. Mas'ūdī has practically the same expression: *Bukhārā dār mamlakat Āl Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad* etc. *(Tanbīh*, 65).

(2) Cf. n. 4, p. 40.

(3) Several of these names are uncertain.

The village of the mine was extensive, with irrigation and palm-trees. Provisions came to it from Basrah. Files of camels came to it and went from it upon the road of al-'Atīq and al-Falaj and al-Yamāmah and Bahrain to Basrah. Likewise companies of travellers were passing from Ṣan'ā' to Basrah and from Basrah to Ṣan'ā' by the road of al-Yamāmah. Our companions — may God have mercy on them — passed along it. Most of those who passed along it were Jarm and the Banū 'l-Ḥārith.

Others were in the mine and obtained much silver, though they had no responsibility nor direction. And in another copy: They obtained in a week a load of silver amounting to 20,000 *dirhams*. This means a yield in a year of approximately 1,000,000 *dirhams*. That was known from one of the representatives of Muḥammad b. Ya'fur, who were holding the right of the government.

Aḥmad b. abī Ramādah, the goldsmith, informed (? me) that the Banū Mabnā (1) (sc. 'Alids) and the Banū Ashrāf (2) were working in the mine, and that there were in it 400 furnaces. When birds came near the village of the mine, they dropped dead because of the fire from the furnaces.

My father — may God have mercy on him — told me that he used to buy ... silver, i.e. the refined metal, at 14 *mithqāls* for a *muṭawwaq dīnār*. The *muṭawwaq* is 2/3 of a *mithqāl* and 2 grains *(ḥabbatān)*, and 10 *muṭawwaqs* are an ounce, or 7 *mithqāls*. The *muṭawwaq* is equivalent to 20 full-weight *dirhams* of silver. For the *mithqāl* read 30 *dirhams*. When the mine ceased to work, silver in Ṣan'ā' rose to a *muṭawwaq dīnār* for an ounce. But when there occurred the barren year of 290 A.H. in al-Yaman, it returned (folio 26a) to the former price, 20 full-weight *dirhams*, i.e. a *muṭawwaq dīnār*, for 2 ounces. Exchanges of *dāniqs* reached 97 (3) for a *muṭawwaq*, i.e. $16^1/_6$ *dirhams*. The merchants of Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt

(1) Literally "sons of the House". Perhaps the Saiyids specifically are intended.

(2) I.e. the Sharīfs, descendants of al-Ḥasan.

(3) Text: *tis'ah wa-tis'īn* which cannot be right.

carried off the silver of al-Yaman in those days, and gained great profit by it.

I was informed by one of our brothers (1) of Nihm, belonging to the people of the place: There came to us from Ṣan'ā' of those who were reaching al-Yaman two men of Khurāsān. When they looked at the mine and the traces of pagan and Muslim there, one of them said to the other " O, lost wealth of God in this place ! ", or " O wealth of God, perishing in this place ! ".

Word of it had come to the 'Alid at Ṣa'dah (2). Now Hamdān and the inhabitants of this place were at war with him, but relations between him and the Banū 'r-Ruwaiyah were fair. So he laid his plans. The people of Ṣan'ā' advised him to build there a castle, or restore the ancient castle, and establish in it a treasury, whose governors should defend (the place) against the bedouin and the hostile Madḥij. He arranged to do so. News reached As'ad b. Ya 'fur, and he sent to Āl Madḥij the chiefs of Nihm, and inscribed them upon his *dīwān* and increased his favour to them. They were won over to his side, and the 'Alid did not succeed according to his hopes.

The traces of the works of the pagan are more numerous there than the traces of the people of Islam. This is the place mentioned by the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) in his letter (sent) with Ibn Namaṭ al-Hamdānī (3) to the people of the province of Yām and Khārif. Al-Aṣḥar, the mountain of Yām, is there, with traces of the pagan. Later Yām removed hence/(folio 26b) and dwelt beween the Jauf of al-Ḥaifah and Najrān. There passed to them Qābil of southern Najrān, in which is their cultivated country. Their desert with salt and *ḥarrah* and the wild onions nearby is a perfect Sodom.

Someone who had seen it, one of the experts who were working

(1) Nihm was a sept of al-Hamdānī's own tribe (*Ṣif.*, 81).

(2) In al-Hamdānī's time and for long afterwards the Zaidite *imāms* were established in Ṣa'dah and often also at Ṣan'ā'.

(3) The text of this letter does not seem to be preserved, cf. M. Hamidullah, *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane* (Paris, 1935), Corpus, 60, no. 96.

the silver, informed me that he expended on a *dirham* of it a fourth, and that in the country of the Banū Madḥij is a silver-mine worked by Ibn Ziyād, the lord of Zabīd, where 4 *dāniqs* (1) are expended on the *dirham*, on account of its trouble and difficulty.

This completes al-Hamdānī's survey of the various sources of gold and silver with which he was acquainted. He proceeds to give a short account of gold-mining, which together with his account of the smelting and assaying of silver, possesses considerable interest. Both accounts are here offered in translation, with some misgivings because of the technical subject. (folio 26b) Section. Extraction of gold from the mine. As for the gold-mines, narrow pits are dug in them, like wells in communication *(kaẓā'im)*, which become wider as they descend. Frequently two pits are adjacent, and, the lower parts being scooped out, one leads into another. They are taken down as far as possible. Water issues forth in streams. The ore is brought from that pit in which much is known to be, and the stones are separated from it. Then it is washed in a trough of wood, divided by a partition at two places, forming half a square on two sides. Sometimes (the trough) is divided at three places, and the fourth is open. This is the form for most stones and earth: ⌊ | | |⌋. But when it is for fine earth, it is joined and becomes two sides of a triangle, or it is joined a second time, and becomes like this: ⋁.

The earth goes out from the opening of this trough. The particles and grains of gold are deposited at the end of the trough. When the agitation subsides, it is examined and turned over by the hand, and lo ! the flash of gold is seen from the grains. It is taken and held by the finger-tips and fixed with saliva (2), then placed in the cane of a reed, which has a stopper. This is then thrust into the hair,/(folio 27a) if the

(1) I.e., at 6 *dāniqs* to the *dirham*, the cost of production was here two-thirds the total yield, compared with one-fourth at ar-Raḍrāḍ.

(2) Text: *bir-rīq*. Or read *biz-zaibaq?* Qicksilver was sometimes used for gold-washing, cf. John Beckmann, *History of Inventions and Discoveries*, transl. W. Johnston, ed. 3, I (London, 1817), 25.

man has a full head of hair, but if his head is shaven, into his bosom. He goes on stirring and sifting and collecting till the earth and the particles in it are exhausted, and he sets it aside.

Then he sifts it gently in a small vessel and rinses it out with water into a dish. If it is dead particles like crushed antimony, he collects them with quicksilver. This is done by placing the particles in a dish, and pouring quicksilver over them to double the amount, with enough water to cover the whole. Then he scrapes everything into an earthenware pot, resembling the dish, until he knows that the quicksilver has covered the particles and consumed them. Then he pours it out through a coarse rag. The quicksilver comes out, but the gold remains with the quicksilver which it has collected in a compact mass. This he roasts till the quicksilver is consumed (1). We shall mention the method of roasting the mass, if God Who is exalted wills.

What comes forth to them from a vein or tongue or lamina of gold is dug for till it comes forth. If it amounts to a *mudd* (2), this is exceptional and rarely happens, but nuggets of 6 ounces or less are plentiful (3). If its source is in a place where the earth is more than the stones, its gold-dust is easily separated, and it is a valuable mine. If on the other hand the stone is predominant, it is hard and stingy. Sometimes there is in the bed of the cutting a stony channel plain to see. We have seen this, and I have [also] seen round patches, which are not in the place of cutting when reckoned to be so.

Gold-dust is adulterated by counterfeit dust. Bad gold is melted, then the attempt is made to cast it in ground salt, pulverized clay,/(folio 27b) and hot ashes. Most of the sand is sand from the channel.

Valuable grains of gold remain after a long time in bags of

(1) A similar method of extracting gold by means of quicksilver was known to Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, XXXIII, vi). See Beckmann, op. cit., I, 23ff., cf. J. Percy, *Metallurgy, Silver and Gold*, Part I (London, 1880), 559ff.

(2) A *mudd* is originally the amount which a man can hold out in front of him in both hands (*Qāmūs*, s.v.), later fixed at 2 *raṭls* or 1 1/3 *raṭls*.

(3) Al-Hamdānī is not necessarily speaking here about conditions in South Arabia, of which he has personal knowledge, cf. below.

gold-dust. Sim'ān al-Baṣrī, the money-changer, was at Ṣan'ā'. When he was offered a bag of gold-dust and he approved of the kind, he came up to the owner and talked to him (he was a fluent, agreeable talker), scraping the bag time after time. Then he would blow upon it, holding it in his hand and not laying it down. 'See the wonderful works of your Lord', he would say, blowing upon it once or twice. He continued doing that, as he talked, till not a trace of dust remained. Then he finished his business and weighed it. Some of the money-changers at Ṣan'ā' said, 'Sim'ān does not buy gold-dust unless he knows it'. He would blow from a large bag perhaps three *dirhams* at one time, or two *dirhams*, more or less.

And I have heard miners of the real desert people, who spoke correctly, saying, ' Where do you buy gold-dust *(tibrah)?* ', making it feminine according to the pronoun of *qaṭīfah* (velvet) and *ṣarīrah* (silver coin)...

(folio 56a)... Section. Extraction of silver from the mine. We have already mentioned the form of mines of silver — caves in the mountains and depths of the earth. The sign of them is antimony for collyrium, and wherever that is found, it is known that there is a source of silver, and that the element is under it. It is dug for and extracted. Then it is broken in the form of large raisins *(zabīb)*. The fine silver and the particles are crumbled with water, together with an amount of ' yellow clay ' (1), as much as will collect it.

Then the furnace is built. A furnace is placed where convenient/(folio 56b) with a vent at the back of it, and a tank beyond. The vent is blocked up. The vent is what gives air to the furnace. The furnace is equipped with one or two pairs of bellows, according to the amount of the element placed in it and the size of the furnace. It is an ordinary smith's bellows, made of struts (?) *(aṣrāf)* and skins. Then at the bottom of the furnace is placed a layer of mimosa wood *(sūd)*, then a layer of the element, then a layer of wood, and so on, till the

(1) Perhaps ochre, cf. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (Algiers, 1924), 101.

top is reached. Sometimes the heavy mimosa wood is mixed with lighter material from the gum-acacia tree and juniper, that it may be easier for it (to burn) and better for bringing out what is in the element. Then a light is set to it. To the bellows already mentioned two strong men are assigned, active, not standing still. Each of them is succeeded by the other, bringing wood for the bellows quickly all night through, as often as the fire declines. There are at a pair of bellows two men and at two pairs of bellows four men. Often there is between the two pairs of bellows and the furnace a wall separating the bellows and the vapour of the furnace, because the vapour of lead *(usrubb)* has a powerful effect upon the brain.

When it has descended into the furnace and is softened and has become a single mass like a mass of iron, it is allowed to cool. Then the vent behind is opened, so that all the lead *(raṣāṣ)* (1) comes out into the tank and becomes an ingot.

When it cools, one takes the lead and removes what is in the furnace, gathering the particles of lead therein, or washes it, sluicing it out and joining it to the ingot. Then one turns to the ashes of acacia (?) or juniper,/(folio 57a) sifts them with a sieve, softens them with water and subjects them to much purifying. There are placed in it (?) (2) the ashes and dish, ground well with a round pestle of stone till dry. The lead is placed in the dish, and a pair of refining bellows is set up over them, like the bellows used when smelting. Juniper wood is cast upon the lead and set fire to, and more juniper wood is added continually. The lead is consumed and becomes

(1) The typical end-product of silver-smelting, the so-called ' button of lead ' (cf. Percy, *Metallurgy*, 243, 245), consisting of an alloy of lead and silver, is here referred to by al-Hamdānī. Since he has said nothing about the artificial introduction of lead into the furnace, it would appear that he is describing the smelting of ores which already contained the element in large quantity. Al-Hamdānī omits to explain the affinity of silver for lead, ' which when fused with silver, acts as a solvent and extracts it from its union with baser metals '. The ' button of lead ' is then subjected to the process of assaying (which al-Hamdānī proceeds to describe), by which the lead is reduced to litharge and the silver remains.

(2) Text: *waju'ila fīhi ar-ramād wajafnah (waḥafnah)*. The dish or hollow should be the ' cupel ' used in assaying (cf. Percy, *Metallurgy*, 231-232).

litharge (1). When all the lead is consumed, and there remains the silver in the midst of the litharge, the operator moistens a rag and casts it upon it. Cold enters it. Then he pours water over it. Then you leave aside the litharge, and extract the silver from the midst of it.

This is what happens with real silver ore, when little of it is lead. When there is much lead and little silver, or there is little silver and the lead is very heavy, then the ingot which comes out from the midst of the litharge must be purified repeatedly, so that the refined silver may come forth from it. The first ingot varies in excellence. Some give the litharge *dirhams* and Baghlī *dirhams* (2), with other classes of the different silvers, which vary in the exchanges since some exceed others in value.

When you wish to restore the litharge to lead, you melt it in vessels, and cast upon it some lead to enliven it. What is in its form comes out as lead *(usrubb)*, and what is separated a second time is litharge. The element or ore of silver comes out at the rate of 1/2 a *ruṭl* of silver to a *ruṭl*. This is the most valuable and productive. Others/(folio 57b) come out at the rate of 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6 of a *ruṭl* or an ounce, down to a full-weight *dirham*, according to the excellency or deficiency of the ore.

Here end these selections from al-Hamdānī, illustrating where and how the precious metals were obtained in his time. If the tale is artless and the methods described are primitive, from the point of view of today, it will no doubt be conceded that al-Hamdānī was describing what he knew about, and that there was evidently no lack of silver and gold, and knowledge of how to extract them, in the South Arabia of his day. In

(1) The essential part of the process is to bring the molten alloy into contact with a stream of air to form an oxide of lead (litharge).

(2) Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, 262, mentions that the Baghlī *dirham* weighed 8 *dāniqs*, instead of the usual 6, cf. n. 1, p. 44. They are said to have been coined originally by a certain Baghl the Jew (?) (Steingass, s.v.). This is evidently the same person as Ra's al-Baghl cited by Sauvaire (*Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie musulmanes*, II 139) from ad-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ed. Bulaq, I 80, as having struck *dirhams* for 'Umar with the coin of Khusrau (i.e. Sassanid silver money, cf. supra). Cf. also al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-ummah*, ed. Cairo, 1940, 49-50.

concluding I should like to thank Professor Bruce Dickins, Mr. T. Sayigh and Dr. R. B. Whitehead, who kindly answered questions, and the Librarians at Milan and Upsala, who provided the materials for this article.

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SOME ASPECTS OF KHĀNQAH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA*

(A) INTRODUCTORY

Few aspects of Muslim religious life during the middle ages are of such absorbing interest as the origin and growth of the mystic ideology and institutions. Though the mystic attitude is ' not the sole prerogative of any race, language or nation, ' the mystic movement in Islam has certain peculiar features of its own which make its study a necessary adjunct to a proper understanding of the history of medieval 'Ajam, including India. One of these features is the largescale establishment of *khānqahs* (1) for inculcating community spirit among the mystics and for the moral and spiritual culture of the people.

By the thirteenth century Muslim mystic ideology had reached a stage where, under the existing circumstances, no

* The writer of this article is dealing with the whole of *khānqah* life in medieval India in his book: *Studies in Indo-Muslim Mysticism*, which is in preparation. In this paper, some aspects of Khānqah-life during the early medieval period are being considered.

(1) The origin of the word *khānqah* is a moot point. Some scholars consider it to be a word of Turkish origin; others believe it to be Persian, being a compound of *khwān* and *gāh*. Shaikh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh considered it to be a compound of *khānah* (house) and *qah* (prayer) (see his conversations, *Khair al-Majālis*). Whatever the origin of the term, technically it means a house where mystics live and pray, according to the rules of their order. Maqrīzī thinks that the origin of the separate houses of worship may be traced back to the days of the Caliph Uthmān (vol. IV, p. 271). Ibn Taimiyya writes on the authority of *Akhbār al-Ṣūfiyya* that the first house for mystics was constructed at Basra (*Fatāwā Ibn Taimiyya*, II, p. 460); but he thinks that the popularity of *khānqahs* and *ribāṭs* starts with the Seljuq period (IV, p. 459). According to Jāmī, the first *Khānqah* was constructed by a Christian prince of Syria (*Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, p. 31-32).

further development was possible. Eminent mystic philosophers and thinkers like Imām Qushairī (ob. 1074), Imām Ghazzālī (ob. 1111), Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (ob. 1234), Shaikh Muḥyi'l-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī (ob. 1240) and Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (ob. 1273) had consolidated mystic thought into a coherent discipline and a consistent philosophy. The only scope for its development was now in the field of *application.* The abstract mystic principles had to be applied to concrete conditions of society and transformed into space-time forces. The utter ruin of Muslim social life—the degeneration of Muslim morals and the disintegration of Muslim soul—during the period preceding and following the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu came as a challenge to the mystic thought. Would Muslim mysticism remain merely a cult for the interiorization of religious rites and lose its social value or would it organize a world-wide movement for the spiritual culture of humanity and thus save Muslim society from moral and spiritual inertia ? The mystics chose the second alternative and concentrated all their energies on the regeneration of Muslim society. At a time when Muslim political power was at its lowest ebb and anarchy and indiscipline reigned supreme (1), they divided the universe into spiritual territories *(wilāyats)* (2) and with clearly marked out spheres of jurisdiction set out to revitalize the spiritual life of the Muslims. The spiritual orders *(silsilahs)* were effectively organized to meet the situation and *khānqahs*, which henceforth became an integral part of the mystic discipline, were established on an extensive scale.

Muslim mysticism reached India when it had entered the last and the most important phase of its history—the organization of *silsilahs.* Almost simultaneously with the foundation

(1) See 'Aṭā Malik Juwainī, *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā* (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 33-35.

(2) " God has saints *(walīs)* ", writes Shaikh 'Alī Ḥujwirī, " whom he has distinguished by his friendship and who are the rulers of His dominion... As to the saintly officers of the Divine court who are in charge of affairs, there are three hundred, known as *Akhyār*, forty others known as *Abdāl*, seven others known as *Abrār*, four more known as *Autād*, three others known as *Nuqabā'* and one other known as *Quṭb* or *Ghauth.* These saints know each other and co-operate in their work ". *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, pp. 213-214.

of the Sultanate of Delhi, two mystic orders—the Chishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya—were introduced in India. In the century that followed they spread out in the country, built up their organizations and established themselves in their respective zones. Within a short span of time the entire country, from Multān to Lakhnautī and from Panīpat to Deogīr, was studded with *khānqahs*, *jamā'at khānahs* and *zāwiyahs* (1). Early in the 14th century a traveller informed Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī in Damascus: " In Delhi and its surroundings are *khānqahs* and hospices numbering two thousand ". (2) These *khānqahs*, numerous and extensive as they were, soon wove themselves into the complex culture-pattern of India and helped removing that spirit of mistrust and isolation which honeycombed relations between the various culture-groups of India.

Fortunately for us, Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, an eminent disciple of Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā, thought of recording the conversations that went on in the *khānqah* of his master and compiled a valuable book, the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*. The idea was epoch-making. It encouraged others to compile similiar records of the conversations of their masters. The mystic literature, thus produced in the form of *malfūẓāt* (records of the conversations of the mystic teachers), is of great historical value since it transports us into that serene spiritual atmosphere of the medieval Indian *khānqahs* where we can get a glimpse of the medieval society in all its fullness, if not in all its perfec-

(1) Though broadly used in the sense of hospices, these terms differ in their connotation. The *khānqah* was a spacious building, much like a royal palace, providing separate accommodation for every visitor and inmate. The *jamā'at khānah* was a large room where all disciples slept, prayed and studied sitting on the floor. The Chishtī saints built *jamā'at khānahs;* the Suhrawardīs constructed *khānqahs*. Common people, unable to appreciate the distinction, used the word *khānqah* even for the Chishti *jamā'at khānahs*, and now the term is used for all centres of spiritual activity without distinction. The *zāwiyahs* were smaller places where mystics lived and prayed but, unlike the inmates of *khānqahs* and *jama'at khānahs*, did not aim at establishing any vital contact with the world outside. In the 17th and the 18th centuries another type of *khānqahs*, the *dāerahs*, came into existence. The primary aim of these *dāerahs* was to provide place for men of one affiliation to devote their time to religious meditation. They were smaller than the *zāwiyahs*.

(2) *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, English translation by O. Spies, p. 24.

tion—the moods and tensions of the common people, their religious ideals and spiritual cravings, their social tensions and economic urges—in fact, all the problems which agitated the medieval mind at all its levels, higher and lower.

The success of these *khānqahs* depended very largely on a Shaikh's ability to adjust and adapt himself to the mental climate of a particular region. What mystics call *nafs-i-gīra*—an intuitive intelligence that could understand, comprehend, control and direct the mind of the disciples—was needed in an abundant degree to fulfil the purpose of *khānqah* organization. Unless they identified themselves with the problems of the people, their worries, their hopes and their aspirations, these *khānqahs* could not gain the confidence of the people. When Shaikh Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Ṣūfī (1), a distinguished disciple of Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, established his *khānqah* in a small village of Rajputana, he adopted the life of an Indian farmer. Clad in the traditional dress of an Indian peasant — a piece of cloth round his loins, another round his body —, tilling a *bigha* of land and living strictly on a vegetarian diet, he disseminated the teachings of his *silsilah* among the rural population of Rajputana and his *khānqah*, a small mud house, where he explained mystic principles with remarkable lucidity and from where he carried on a vigorous campaign against mystics who hoarded wealth, became the cynosure of the eyes of the people living around him.

(B) PRINCIPLES OF KHĀNQAH ORGANIZATION

The establishment of *khānqahs* was based on the conviction that a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation was incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made man ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energizing currents of social life. " In constructing

(1) For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar al-Auliyā*, pp. 156-164; *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, pp. 13-14; *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (Delhi edition, 1309 A.H.), pp. 29-36. The writer of these lines has discovered an unique collection of his conversations, the *Surūr al-Ṣudūr*. It will be published soon.

khānqahs ", writes Shaikh ' Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Persian translator of the famous *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, which was accepted by medieval Indian mystics as the best guide book for the organizers of *khānqahs*, " there are several advantages... First it provides shelter for mystics who do not possess any house of their own... Secondly, by gathering at a place and mixing with each other, the mystics get an opportunity of regulating their life and developing uniform inward and outward ways... Thirdly, in this way they get an opportunity of criticising and mending each other's ways ". (1) In fact, when men of different temperaments and attitudes assembled in these *khānqahs*, all tensions, conflicts and complexes in their character were resolved and their personalities were moulded in consonance with the spirit of the *silsilah.* Common penitences and sufferings drew out the noblest qualities of their souls and made them understand what Carlyle calls the ' divine significance of life.'

Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī found sanction for the establishment of *khānqahs* in the Quranic verses S. XXIV, 36-37 (2), and laid down the following fundamental principles for the mystics entrusted with the task of organizing *khānqahs* (3):

(i) The people of the *khānqahs* should establish cordial relations with all men *(khalq).*
(ii) They should concern themselves with God, through prayers, meditation, etc.
(iii) They should abandon all efforts at earning a livelihood and should resign themselves to the will of God.
(iv) They should strive for the purification of their inner life.
(v) They should abstain from things that produce evil effects.
(vi) They should learn the value of time.
(vii) They should completely shake off indolence and lethargy.

(1) *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Lucknow edition, 1322 A.H.) pp. 118-119.
(2) *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* (Urdu translation, Lucknow, 1926), p. 123.
(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

The *Ahl-i-Khānqah* (people of a *khānqah)* were divided into two categories: permanent residents *(muqīmān)* and travellers *(musāfirīn)*. A traveller desiring to stay in a *khānqah* was expected to arrive there before the *'aṣr* prayers. If he arrived late, he was advised to pass the night in some mosque and join the *khānqah* the next day. As soon as a guest arrived he was expected to offer two genuflections of prayer and then greet the residents of the *khānqah*. If the visitor decided to stay on after the third day, he had to undertake duties in the *khānqah* and help the inmates in their day-to-day work. The servants of the *khānqah* were instructed to show extreme hospitality to all guests and were strictly warned against ridiculing those who were ignorant of the mystic customs and conventions (1).

The permanent residents of the *khānqah* were divided into three grades: *Ahl-i-Khidmat*, *Ahl-i-Ṣuḥbat* and *Ahl-i-Khalwat*, according to their standing and the nature of duties assigned to them (2).

Strict discipline was maintained in the *khānqahs* and elaborate rules were laid down for the guidance of the inmates: How to talk to the Shaikh; how to deal with visitors; how to sit in the *khānqah;* how to walk; how and when to sleep; what dress to wear—on these and similiar other topics minute instructions were given to the people of the *khānqah* (3). The Shaikh sternly dealt with those inmates who were found guilty of the slightest irregularity (4).

(1) *Miṣbāh al-Hidāyah*, p. 119.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

(3) Vide Shaikh Najīb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qāhir Suhrawardī, *Ādāb al-Murīdīn; 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, part I, chapters XIII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XX, part II, first ten chapters; *Miṣbāh-al-Hidāyah*, chapters V, VI, VIII. There is hardly any aspect of *khānqah* life on which elaborate instructions are not found in these works.

(4) Only one instance. Shaikh Burhān-al-Dīn Gharīb, a senior disciple of Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā, was in charge of the kitchen in the *khānqah* of the Shaikh. On account of pain in his leg (he was 70 at that time), he folded a blanket and sat leaning on it in front of his visitors. When the Shaikh came to know of it he was deeply annoyed. When Burhān al-Dīn, as usual, came to pay his respect to the Shaikh, the latter did not talk to him. Burhān al-Dīn kissed his master's feet and came down to the *jamā'at khānah*. He had hardly taken his seat when the personal attendant of the Shaikh conveyed to him the Shaikh's order; he was to leave the *khānqah* at once. Overwhelmed with grief he went to the house of

If a *khānqah* had no endowment *(waqf)* for its maintenance, the Shaikh could either instruct his disciples to earn their livelihood or permit them to beg or ask them to sit in the *khānqah* resigned to His will. If a *khānqah* had no Shaikh but was run by a group of men of equal spiritual status *(ikhwān)*, the same three courses were open to them (1).

(C) THE CHISHTĪ KHĀNQAHS

A Chishtī *khānqah* usually consisted of a big hall *(jamā'at khānah)* where all the inmates lived a community life. The roof of this *jamā'at khānah* was supported by a number of pillars and at the foot of each of these pillars a mystic could be seen with all his belongings—bedding, books and rosary. They all slept on the ground and no discrimination, not even on the basis of piety, was permitted to prevail in the *jamā'at khānah.* If food was available all would partake of it; if not, all would suffer jointly the pangs of hunger. In the *khānqah* of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar, the inmates had to pluck *pēlū* and *dēlah* (2) from the *kareel* trees, fetch water, collect wood from the jungle, and then a saltless dish could be prepared for them (3); but saints who received large amounts of unasked for charity provided better meals for the inmates and visitors of their *khānqahs.*

a disciple of the Shaikh but after two days he requested him to leave his house. A person in disfavour with the Shaikh would not be entertained by anyone else. Burhān al-Dīn went back to his own house, dejected, grief-stricken and morose. Friends tried to console him but the shock of being expelled from the *jamā'at khānah* was too severe for him. Amīr Khusrau represented his case to the Shaikh but failed to secure his pardon. At last Amīr Khusrau appeared before the Shaikh, wrapping his turban round his neck, as criminals do when they give themselves up to justice. The Shaikh was touched by this sight. He asked Khusrau what he wanted. Khusrau requested the Shaikh to forgive Burhān al-Dīn. The Shaikh consented and it was only then that Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn could re-enter the *khānqah.* See *Siyar al-Auliyā*, pp. 278-282.

(1) *Miṣbāh al-Hidāyah*, pp. 121-122.

(2) Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Punjab and used as food.

(3) *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 74; *Khair al-Majālis*, p. 188, 150; *Siyar al-Auliyā*, pp. 86, 209.

No medieval Indian *khānqah* is known to us in such fullness of detail as the *khānqah* of Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā (1). A study of its building and the daily routine of the Shaikh gives a fairly good idea of *khānqah* life in medieval India. In the centre of Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn's *khānqah* there was a big hall *(jamā'at khānah)* and on both sides of it there were small rooms. In one of these rooms the Shaikh used to retire for his short midday rest. In front of this hall was a large courtyard and an old banyan tree stood in it somewhat away from the centre. The courtyard was surrounded by a veranda, but in order to provide separate rooms for some senior inmates, the parts of the veranda adjoining the hall had been walled up. Opposite to the main hall was the gate-room *(dihlīz)* with a door on either side. This room was large and a few men could sit there comfortably without obstructing the passage of others. Adjoining this *dihlīz* was the kitchen. A small room with wooden walls was built on the roof of the hall and the Shaikh lived in it. A low wall ran round the roof, but on the side of the courtyard the wall had been raised higher to provide shade for the Shaikh and his friends when they sat talking in the morning hours; later on, the banyan tree spread its protecting branches over the roof. Still the shade was not enough for the company and on one occasion we find the Shaikh appealing to his visitors to sit closer so that all may find place in the shade.

The Shaikh had a regular daily programme which he meticulously followed in spite of his indifferent health. He fasted almost continuously. At *iftār* time he left his wooden chamber and came down to the *jamā'at khānah.* A piece of bread with a little vegetable was set before him, to break his fast. He ate only part of it and distributed the rest to his audience. He then offered his *maghrib* prayers in congregation and retired to his room on the upper storey where he granted interviews to

(1) Three books — *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* of Amīr Ḥasan, *Khair al-Majālis* of Ḥamīd Qalandar and *Siyar al-Auliyā* of Amīr Khurd — taken collectively shed light on almost every aspect of the Shaikh's life, character and teachings. Details of the building of the *khānqah* and the daily programme of the Shaikh are supplied by Amīr Khurd.

visitors till the *'ishā* prayers. Dinner was served upstairs. The Shaikh then came down to offer *'ishā* prayers in congregation, and soon after it returned to his room to spend some time in devotions. Then he sat down on his cot with a rosary in his hand. No disciple except Amīr Khusrau and some children and relations of the Shaikh, could remain with him at this time. When Amīr Khusrau and the children had left, his personal attendant would come, place some vessels in readiness for his ablutions and retire. The Shaikh would then get up and bolt the door. From that time onwards he was alone, busy in meditation and prayers. The inmates of the *khānqah* saw the Shaikh's light burning through the silent hours of the night. An hour before dawn, Khwāja 'Abd al-Raḥīm knocked at the door and presented *saḥrī* (1), but the Shaikh ate very little and when the Khwāja insisted on his taking more, he said with tears in his eyes: " So many poverty-stricken people are sleeping without dinner in the corners of the mosques and in front of the shops. How can this food go down my throat ? " After sunrise the Shaikh would sit on his prayer carpet facing the *qibla* and visitors would come to him in large numbers. Every visitor would bring some present—cloth, cash and other things—which was distributed among those present. At about midday the Shaikh retired to a room adjoining the *jamā'at khānah* for a short rest but even at this time he was occasionally disturbed. After waking up from his short midday sleep, the Shaikh would again attend to his visitors and after the *ẓuhr* prayers he would retire to his room on the roof and visitors would be called there and interviews would go on, with a break for the *'aṣr* prayers, until sunset.

The Chishtī *khānqahs* kept an open kitchen. They quoted the following *ḥadīth* in favour of their practice: " If someone visits a living man and gets nothing from him to eat, it is as if he had visited the dead " (2). A Chishtī mystic would sell

(1) The meal which is taken before the dawn of day to enable one to fast till sunset.

(2) *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 136.

his wife's *chādar* or his own prayer carpet but would entertain a visitor to his *khānqah* (1). If nothing at all was available, he would respectfully offer a bowl of water. The visitors would understand that their guest was under extremely straitened circumstances; they would drink water and take leave (2).

The expenses of the *khānqahs* were met from *futūḥ* (3), unasked for charity. Its principle is thus stated by Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā: " A man should not ask for anything with his tongue; nor should he think in his heart that it would be good that a particular individual gave him something. But if without any request or desire on his part a thing comes to him it is lawful (4). " Accumulation of wealth or property was considered to have a demoralizing effect on character - nay, it was deemed to be negation of faith in Gold. Whatever came to a Chishtī *khānqah* in the form of *futūḥ* was immediately distributed among the needy and the poor.

In spite of the large-scale distribution of food, the general atmosphere in the Chishtī *khānqahs* was one of poverty, simplicity and spiritual serenity. The Chishtī saints looked upon *shughl* (Government service) and *jagīrdārī* as fetters that ate into the soul, and so they gave a wide berth to the government of the day (5). Couriers from the court were never welcomed and many a time the rulers were refused interviews. " My house has got two doors, " Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā told the messenger of a Sulṭān who insisted on an interview, " if the Sultan enters by one, I shall make my exit by the other ". (6)

Audition parties *(samā')* were a regular feature of the

(1) *Khair al-Majālis*, p. 75.

(2) *Khair al-Majālis*, p. 75.

(3) For detailed discussions about *futūh*, see *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, part I, chapter XX; *Misbāh āl-Hidāyah*, chapter VI, section VII; *Siyar al-Auliyā*, chapter X, section on *futūḥ* and its disbursement.

(4) *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 41.

(5) For a detailed discussion of the problem, see the writer's paper: *Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their Attitude towards the State*, " Islamic Culture ", vols. XXII-XXIV.

(6) *Siyar al-Auliyā*, p. 135.

khānqahs (1). The orthodox theologians sharply criticised them on that account, but they never abandoned it. In fact, they considered *samā'* to be their spiritual nourishment.

Whenever a person decided, after being initiated into the discipline, to stay in the *khānqah*, his head was shaved. If a statistical study is made of the types of persons who settled in the *jamā'at khānahs* of the Chishtī saints, it would help us in understanding the social and economic conditions then prevailing in the country. Government servants, business men, scholars and others disgusted with the conditions of the external world sought shelter in the Chishtī *jamā'at khānahs*. A study of the psychological processes through which these persons were given a new twist and cast anew in consonance with the spirit of the *silsilah*, cannot be attempted here.

(D) THE SUHRAWARDĪ KHĀNQAHS

The Suhrawardī *khānqahs* of Multan were organized on a pattern basically different from that of the *Chishtīs*. The difference arose, firstly, out of the fact that the Suhrawardīs did not eschew politics. They established close personal contact with the rulers and accepted their *jāgīrs*. Instead of depending on the uncertain and irregular income through *futūḥ*, the Suhrawardī *khānqahs* relied on the sure and regular *jāgīr* revenues (2). Secondly, the Suhrawardī *khānqahs* had an aristocratic atmosphere. The *khānqah* of Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyyā was a sumptuous affair. It provided separate accommodation both for the inmates and the visitors and was well-furnished. There were granaries, coffers and treasuries in his *khānqah* (3). Thirdly, the Suhrawardīs did not throw their *khānqahs* open to all and sundry. " I have nothing to

(1) For rules regarding *samā'* as followed in the Chishtī *khānqahs*, see *Siyar al-Auliyā*, chapter IX.

(2) Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn Suhrawardī of Multān accepted a *jāgīr* of 100 villages from Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluq (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo edition, vol. II, p. 61).

(3) *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, pp. 223-224.

do with the general public, " Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn is reported to have said (1), and so he allowed only those to stay and dine with him whom he considered worthy of his attention. His grandson, Shaikh Rukn al-Dīn, never allowed anyone to stay in his *khānqah* unless he had obtained permission from the *Wālī* of Multan. (2) Fourthly, the Suhrawardī *khānqah* of Multan was not open at all times. Shaikh Bahā al-Dīn had fixed hours for interviews and could not be disturbed at any other time. Fifthly, except in the month of Ramaḍān there was very little fasting in his *khānqah* (3). Sixthly, the Suhrawardīs did not believe in audition parties (4).

Besides these *khānqahs* which belonged to the two main mystic orders of the early period, there were many other hospices established by saints who did not belong to any particular spiritual affiliation. Only two of these *khānqahs* may be noticed here, the *khānqah* of Sayyidī Maulā and the *khānqah* of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn. The former came from Jurjan and established a magnificient *khānqah* at Delhi. Huge sums of money were spent by him in entertaining people. Delicacies which were beyond the means of *Khāns* and *Maliks* were served at every meal and enormous sums of money were distributed to the poor (5). The *khānqah* of Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn, a descendant of Shaikh Aḥmad Jām, is thus described by Ibn Baṭṭuṭa: " He dug there a deep cavern in whose cavity he built chambers, granaries, an oven and a bath. He brought water into it from the river Jumna and cultivated that land ". (6) Since those who managed these *khānqahs* were not clear in their minds about the aims and objects of *khānqah* life, they showly drifted into politics and got entangled in serious conflicts with the rulers. The two Shaikhs in question were, in fact, barbarously executed by the Sultans.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 136.
(2) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, II, p. 9.
(3) *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 184.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 34. Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī has devoted four chapters to a discussion of the various aspects of this problem (*'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, part I, chapters XXII-XXIV).
(5) For details, see Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp. 209-212.
(6) *Riḥla*, II, p. 54.

(E) VISITORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

All types of people—scholars, politicians, soldiers, Hindu *jogis*, *qalandars*, merchants, etc.—flocked to these *khānqahs*, particularly those of the Chishtīs, and every one of these visitors brought some problem with him. " My brother is ill. " " My officer is harsh to me. " " I am worried about the marriage of my daughters. " " I have a big family but have no means of livelihood ". To attend to these multifarious problems must have put a heavy pressure on the nerves of the Shaikh, but he seldom allowed anybody to leave the *khānqah* unsatisfied. In fact, immediate material solution of all these problems was something beyond the means of the mystics, but with their deep insight into human character they assuaged the wounds of their visitors and gave them that unshakable faith in God and moral values which sustained them in the midst of the severest tribulations of life.

Since a Shaikh was expected to heal both mental and bodily diseases by spiritual means, large crowds assembled in the *khānqahs* for amulets *(ta'wīz)*. Sometimes the Shaikh would put his hand on the sick, sometimes he would breathe on his body, sometimes he would ask him to recite a particular formula, and sometimes he would write the names of God or verses from the Quran on a piece of paper and ask them to carry these amulets on their bodies. People who sought the guidance of a Shaikh in their perilous journey in the realm of spirit were few ; most of the visitors thronged round him for the solution of their worldly problems, through amulets, blessings or recommendations.

(F) CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDIEVAL INDIAN KHĀNQAHS:

The nature and extent of the influence of these *khānqahs* on medieval Indian society can be assessed with reference to the condition of (i) Hindu society in the 12th century; (ii) the Muslim governing class; and (iii) the general Muslim public.

(i) When the *khānqahs* were established in northern India, Hindu society was passing through one of the darkest phases of its history. The caste-system had eaten into the very vitals of Indian society and had rendered it invertebrate and rickety (1). The workers and artisans — known as *Hadis*, *Domas*, *Chandalas* and *Badhatus* — lived outside the city walls and the idea of theological contamination had assigned to them a sub-human status in the social hierarchy of medieval India. " In fact, " observes al-Bīrūnī, " they are regarded as illegitimate children " and are treated as " outcasts. " All amenities of civic life were denied to them and they were not permitted even to stay in the cities after sunset. No sacred text could be heard or recited by them. They had no access to the temples. A careful analysis of the sites of the *khānqahs* of the early Indo-Muslim mystics would reveal the fact that most of them were established outside the caste-cities in the midst of the lower sections of the Indian population. The unassuming ways of the mystics, their broad human sympathies, the classless atmosphere of their *khānqahs* attracted these despised sections of Indian society to their fold. Here they found an entirely different social order; all discriminations and distinctions which the Hindu society had imposed upon them were meaningless in the *khānqahs*. All lived, slept and ate together. The sacred Book was open and accessible to all. The *khānqahs* thus became the spearheads of Muslim culture and their atmosphere demonstrated the Islamic idea of *tauḥīd* as a working principle in social life. The history of popular religion in Islam, in fact, runs parallel to the growth and expansion of the *khānqah* organization.

Since men belonging to different religions and speaking different languages assembled in the *khānqahs*, it was only natural that a common *lingua franca* was evolved there. The birthplace of the Urdu language was, in fact, the *khānqah* of the medieval *Ṣūfīs*.

(1) For a detailed account of the life and conditions of the people of Hindustan in the 11th century, see al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind* (English translation by Sachau). The account relating to the position of workers in Hindu society is borne out by *Manu*, chapter X, section 51-55.

Besides, the rise of the Bhakti movement in the 14th and the 15th centuries may be traced back to the influence of the *khānqahs*. The fact that the religious leadership of the Bhakti movement came from the lower strata of Hindu society—a section which had been deeply influenced by the Muslim mystics and their khānqah life—is too significant to be ignored. Probably never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from those strata of society to which Chaitanya, Kabīr, Nānak, Dhanna, Dadu and others belonged. There was hardly any saint of the Bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a *khānqah*.

(ii) At a time when the country was resounding with the din and clatter of the arms of the Ghūrids, the atmosphere of the *khānqahs* acted as a corrective to the political hysteria of the period. The saints sat cool and collected in their *khānqahs* and taught lessons of human love and equality. While the Turkish governing class made hideous distinctions between Turks and Non-Turks, between nobles and low-born persons, the *khānqahs* held aloft the Islamic ideals of equality and fraternity. Balban might refuse to talk to low-born persons in his court, he could dismiss them if he so wished, but when he visited the *khānqah* of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajodhan he must have realized that there were places in the Empire of Hindustan where his own position was not more exalted than that of any ordinary human being. I may be permitted to repeat what I have said elsewhere about the *khānqah* of Shaikh Farīd: " Though situated within the political confines of the Sultanate of Delhi, the *jamā'at khānah* of Shaikh Farīd was not part of the Delhi Empire. It was, at that time, the only place under the Indian sun where the Emperor of Hindustan and a penniless pauper were received in the same way. The contamination of court life had not touched its spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere. It was an oasis of love in a world of strifes and conflicts. " (1)

(iii) The Urban Revolution which had come in the wake of the establishment of Turkish power in India, had brought

(1) *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 114.

with it certain moral laxities and social vices, a necessary concomitant of culture-growth. A cursory glance through the pages of the *Qirān al-Sa'dain* of Amīr Khusrau and the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī gives an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in Delhi after the death of Balban and before the advent of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī. The *khānqahs* acted as a counterweight in maintaining the moral equilibrium of the medieval society. The following contemporary account of the *khānqah* of Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā will give some idea of their influence on the life of the people:

" Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn had opened wide the doors of his discipleship, admitting people to his discipline, confessing sinners, and pervading with religious habits all classes of men—nobles and commoners, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free men and slaves; and these persons refrained from many improper acts because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh; if any one of them committed a sin, he confessed and vowed allegiance anew. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer; men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Most of those who frequented the Shaikh's company regularly said their *chāsht* and *ishrāq* prayers (1). Many platforms with thatched roofs were constructed on the way from the city to Ghiyāthpur (where the Shaikh had established his *khānqah*), wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a *ḥāfiẓ* were stationed at every platform so that people going to the Shaikh should have no difficulty in saying their prayers on the way. And on every platform a crowd of men could be seen saying their superorgatory *(nafl)* prayers. Owing to regard for the Shaikh's discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversation among most people except

(1) In addition to the five compulsory *(farḍ)* prayers, the Muslims have five recommended (or *sunnat*) prayers—*ishrāq*, after sunrise, *chāsht* in the forenoon, *zawāl* after midday, *awābīn* at twilight and *tahajjud* between midnight and early dawn. All other prayers belong to a third category of *nafl* or superorgatory prayers.

inquiries about the prayers of *chāsht* and *tahajjud*. How many genuflections *(rak'ats)* did they contain ? What *Sura* of the Quran was to be recited with each genuflection ? What *du'ās* (religious formulae) were to follow each prayer ? How many *rak'ats* did the Shaikh say every night; and what part of the Qurān in every *rak'at* and what *daruds* (blessings on the Prophet) ? What was the custom of Shaikh Farīd and of Shaikh Bakhtiyār ? Such were the questions asked by the new disciples of the old. They inquired about fasting and prayers and about reducing their food. Many persons took to committing the Quran to memory. The new disciples of the Shaikh were committed to the charge of the old. The older disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, and the study of books and of the lives of the saints. God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about worldly affairs or turn towards the house of a worldly man, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong. Perseverance in *nafl* prayers alone had gone to such an extent that at the Sultan's court many amirs, clerks, guards and royal slaves had become the Shaikh's disciples, said their *chāsht* and *ishrāq* prayers and fasted on the 13th and 16th of every month, as well as during the first ten days of *Zul-ḥijja*. There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears. Many disciples of the Shaikh finished the *tarāwīḥ* (1) prayers in their houses or in the mosques. Such of them as were more persevering passed the whole night standing in prayer throughout Ramaḍān, on Fridays and during the days of the Hajj. The elder disciples stood in prayers for a third or three fourths of the night throughout the year, while others said their morning prayers with the ablution of their *'Ishā* prayer (2). Some of his disciples finally reached eminence in spiritual power through his education.

" Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Muslims

(1) Prayers in Ramaḍān between sunset and *'Ishā*.

(2) I.e. they did not sleep but spent the whole night in prayer.

of this country took an inclination towards mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have faith in the Shaikh. This faith was shared by 'Alā al-Dīn and his family. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to anybody's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity. Muslims out of regard for one another refrained from open usury and monopolistic practices *(iḥtikār)*, while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism. The *Qūt al-Qulūb*, the *Iḥyā al-'Ulum* and its translation, the *'Awārif*, the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, the *Sharḥ-i-Ta'arruf*, the *Risālah-i-Qushairī*, the *Mirṣād al-'Ibād*, the *Maktūbāt-i-'Ain al-Quḍāt*, and the *Lawā'iḥ* and the *Lawāmi'* of Qāḍī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Nāgaurī found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawā'id-al-Fu'ād* of Amīr Ḥasan, on account of the sayings of the Shaikh which it contains. People asked the booksellers about books on devotion." (1)

(G) THE DESTRUCTION OF KHĀNQAH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

The responsibility for destroying *khānqah* life and organization of medieval India lies on the shoulders of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq (1325-1351). First, acting on the maxim: "State and Religion are twins," (2) he asked the mystics to leave their *khānqahs* and to accept government service. Elder saints like Shaikh Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh of Delhi and Shaikh Quṭb al-Dīn Munawwar of Hānsī, refused to fall in with the policy of the Sultan and declined, at the risk of their lives, to leave their *khānqahs;* but a generation of promising young mystics, who were expected to continue the early traditions and to keep the

(1) *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp. 343-345.
(2) *Siyar al-Auliyā*, p. 196.

torch burning, was completely spoiled. Secondly, the migration of the Muslim population from Delhi to Deogīr turned the *khānqahs* into wilderness. So complete was the destruction of *khānqah* life in Delhi that, with the exception of the tombs of Shaikh Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā, no tomb or hospice in Delhi had even a candle lamp. (1) Thirdly, the Sultan had probably come under the influence of the teachings of Ibn Taimiyya (2) (ob. 1328), who was a bitter critic of *khānqah* life and regarded the *khānqahs* as thoroughly un-Islamic. Whatever the motives, the result of Muḥammad b. Tughluq's policy was that the traditions of the early medieval *khānqahs* were killed. When the Sultanate broke up into provincial dynasties, *khānqahs* were, no doubt, established in provincial towns, but these provincial *khānqahs* differed from the earlier ones in their ideals, attitudes and principles of organization.

Khaliq Ahmad Nizami
(Aligarh)

(1) *Jawāmi' al-Kilam* (MS).

(2) For the visit of one of his disciples to the court of Muḥammad b. Tughluq, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, II, p. 44.

LE MÉCÉNAT TIMOURIDE A CHIRAZ

Conçue au XIX^e siècle, la première vue d'ensemble de l'histoire de l'Iran se calque sur les chroniques qui la fournissent d'événements et dans lesquelles l'histoire n'est vécue que par les princes. De combats en anecdotes la succession des familles régnantes en rythme le déroulement. Les grands phénomènes qui en marquent l'apogée, une Renaissance au XV^e siècle, l'instauration d'un État national au XVI^e, sont des concepts empruntés à l'histoire européenne. Les travaux des orientalistes ont longtemps visé à compléter le détail de cet appareil de dynasties emboîtées, qui a reçu son perfectionnement des brillantes variations de Grousset sur un thème simpliste : l'opposition du nomade au sédentaire résolue en assimilation. « Souvent, cinquante ans après la conquête, écrit Grousset, tout se passe comme si elle n'avait pas eu lieu. Le Barbare sinisé ou iranisé est le premier à monter la garde de la civilisation contre les nouvelles vagues d'assaut de la Barbarie » (1). De la sorte aucune fissure ne menace le système, auquel des études plus attentives ont toutefois porté des coups redoutables.

Le fait, incontestable, qu'une minorité, infime, de nouveaux venus, Mongols ou Turcs, subissait l'attrait de la civilisation iranienne n'autorise pas à des déductions illimitées. Si les réflexions qu'il a inspirées n'étaient appuyées sur un nombre dérisoire de références piquées au hasard des traductions, il bénéficierait des lumières de l'histoire comparée, dont il relève. Sans quitter le cadre de l'empire mongol, la « sinisation » des barbares appelle les mêmes réserves que leur « iranisa-

(1) *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 27.

tion » (1). Converti en alternative éthique de « la civilisation » et de « la barbarie » le problème des rapports entre conquérants et conquis est mal posé : dans l'abstrait. Pour une citation, isolée en preuve, attestant l'assimilation des envahisseurs, on supprime tout le contexte qui en amenuise la réalité. De là le grossissement des arguments tirés de l'histoire de l'art. L'observation, faite en d'autres secteurs de la recherche historique, que l'art n'est pas toujours exact contemporain de l'histoire, aurait pu inciter à respecter les proportions. Car si l'histoire culturelle dégage un semblant d'évidence elle ne doit pas être seule sollicitée. De données aussi positives que le baptême de Clovis ou l'amitié de Charlemagne et d'Alcuin, par exemple, nul n'oserait tirer prétexte pour proclamer éphémères, vite résorbées, les conséquences des Grandes Invasions.

Certes, pour qui dresse d'une plume rapide un tableau synoptique de l'histoire culturelle, les effets des invasions turco-mongoles ne s'inscrivent pas d'eux-mêmes dans la colonne du passif. Le XIV^e^ siècle tout entier est un des âges les plus riches de la littérature persane, le XV^e^ siècle est le grand siècle de la miniature. Si Tamerlan désole les dernières années du premier, le second s'identifie à ce qu'on a appelé « la Renaissance timouride ». Mais, au fait, renaissance de quoi ? Et en quoi timouride ?

Dans le domaine littéraire il n'y a rien sous Tamerlan qui n'appartienne aux milieux de Chiraz ou de Tabriz et Bagdad. C'est même un lettré persan de Bagdad, Niẓām al-Dīn Šāmī, qui devient l'historiographe du conquérant (2). Sous Šāhruḫ les genres poétiques cultivés par de nombreux poètes de deuxième ordre ne témoignent, après la grande éclosion du siècle précédent, d'aucun renouvellement (3). L'art timouride, c'est-à-dire ce qui nous reste surtout pour en juger, la miniature, représente bien une époque de l'art persan, dont les limites dans le temps

(1) Cf. par exemple H. Franke, *Could the Mongol emperors read and write Chinese?* dans *Asia Major* III/1 (1953), p. 28-41.

(2) F. Tauer, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan... par Niẓāmuddīn Šāmī*, II, Prague, 1956, et surtout Ḥādj Ḥoseyn Nakhdjevānī dans *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz* VII/3 (1334 s.) et VIII/2 (1335 s.).

(3) E. Yāršāṭer, *La poésie persane à l'époque de Šāhruḫ* (en persan), Téhéran 1334 s.

peuvent être établies, autant qu'en pareille matière il est possible. Dans la mesure où personnalités d'artistes et tendances demeurent mal connues il est commode de situer les écoles selon le classement dynastique, et en ce sens le terme de « première époque timouride » est justifiable, qui couvre le règne de Šāhruḫ et de ses fils. L'étude, à peine commencée, des foyers provinciaux et du cheminement des styles, la font apparaître proche héritière des traditions djalaïrides ou, à un moindre degré, muzaffarides (1). M. Stchoukine estime qu'« en effectuant le rassemblement des artistes renommés de toutes les parties de l'Iran dans un seul centre Tamerlan stimula un processus de syncrétisme stylistique, déjà amorcé avant lui, dont se ressentit toute la peinture du XVe siècle » (2). Ainsi l'influence extérieure la plus marquée qui se soit exercée sur le développement de l'art timouride serait étrangère, dans son essence, — car ce rassemblement ne fut qu'une déportation, — au patronage qui a fait la gloire des princes de Hérat et de Chiraz.

L'existence du mécénat princier est propre à l'époque timouride, en effet, à cet égard différente de l'époque mongole. Sous les Mongols la protection des lettrés est dévolue aux tout-puissants vizirs, les J̌uvaynī d'abord, Rašīd al-Dīn et son fils Ġiyāṯ al-Dīn Muḥammad plus tard, qui ont œuvré, d'une façon qu'il sera important de préciser, au maintien de la culture persane. Au XVe siècle le patronage est exercé directement par les princes. Quelle est la portée de cette identification du mécénat à la souveraineté ? Elle a favorisé, avec Ulug Beg, un nouvel essor des études mathématiques et astronomiques. Elle est responsable, pour des raisons qui ne sont pas désintéressées, de la floraison d'une riche littérature historique comparable, en deçà de la zone muette qu'est la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle, à celle de la période īlḫānienne. Mais si la dédicace à un prince

(1) I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timourides*, Paris, 1954 (Inst. Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibl. Arch. et Hist. LX), fait une bonne place à l'école de Chiraz, à la suite de B. W. Robinson. Cf. aussi l'étude de R. Ettinghausen sur le « style historique de Šāhruḫ » dans *Kunst des Orients* II (1955).

(2) Stchoukine, p. 156.

est de rigueur tous les textes n'ont pas été rédigés par ordre. Il n'est pas besoin de dire combien l'information y gagne.

Le mécénat a pu susciter des émulations fécondes, il n'a pas créé les talents. Dans le domaine de l'expression artistique son action paraît cependant avoir été surestimée par plus d'un spécialiste. Tout récemment encore M. Godard écrivait : « L'apport le plus certain de la première époque timouride à l'art pictural est peut-être cet amour attendri de la nature qui semble caractériser tous les membres de la famille du conquérant mongol [= Tamerlan] et, en conséquence, leurs peintres et leur art » (1). En conséquence ?

On peut admettre qu'un Baysonġor ou qu'un Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, confiant aux artistes attachés à sa personne l'illustration d'un manuscrit, se faisait présenter des croquis, suggérait des retouches. Il n'existe aucune preuve que l'épanouissement d'un art dont la maturation s'était faite dans les ateliers djalaïrides soit dû aux conseils des fils de Šāhruḫ. Et si l'art timouride est mieux qu'un art de commande, c'est précisément parce qu'on ne peut rendre compte du talent des artistes par le goût de leurs patrons. L'effort des historiens de l'art persan pour rénover enfin les méthodes de leur discipline commence juste à promettre ses fruits. Trop longtemps la critique s'est faite à vue de nez. Les amateurs de miniatures persanes ne parvenaient pas à saisir la personnalité des artistes timourides anonymes : ils la nient facilement. Connaissaient-ils mieux la personnalité des mécènes ?

Que savons-nous du caractère, des idées d'Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ? Rien. De Baysonġor ? Guère plus. De Šāhruḫ ? Peu de choses, et ce peu est défavorable. Mieux regardé Baysonġor peut réserver des surprises. Ulugʻ Beg seul a eu les honneurs d'une monographie, — le mémoire classique de V. Bartol'd, auquel il y a peu à reprendre (2). On souhaiterait pourtant qu'Ulugʻ Beg, légèrement idéalisé par Bartol'd, soit connu plus en profondeur. S'il est aisé, par l'artifice de quelques citations, d'établir que

(1) Collection UNESCO de l'Art Mondial. *Iran. Miniatures persanes. Bibliothèque Impériale*, UNESCO, 1956, p. 14.

(2) *Ulugʻ Beg i ego vremja*. Traduction W. Hinz, *Ulugʻ Beg und seine Zeit* (Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XXI/1, 1935), Leipzig, 1936.

tel et tel travail a été exécuté pour tel ou tel de ces princes, qu'apprenons-nous de leurs relations avec les artistes et les lettrés qu'ils attirent parfois, qu'ils déportent aussi ou retiennent bon gré mal gré à leur cour ? Ni les dons de calligraphe d'un Baysonġor, ni les intérêts scientifiques d'un Ulug Beg, ne doivent faire oublier le souci élémentaire de glorification qui alimente le mécénat princier, et qu'en dépit de ces cas remarquables de participation individuelle la dissociation est très accusée au XV^e^ siècle entre la vie de cour et la réalité. S'il y eut alors recherche d'une tradition à renouer ce fut bien celle du « retour à l'Islam », fortifiée des déceptions qu'engendrait le régime timouride. Il serait singulier que l'on mît au crédit de quelques princes la vitalité d'une culture qui, souvent, masquée de plus ou moins de prudence, s'est exprimée contre l'ordre de choses qu'ils représentaient. Sauf pour un très petit nombre, on ne peut affirmer des protégés des mécènes timourides que leur acceptation fut forcée. Mais on peut dire souvent que leur adhésion était conditionnelle. Des exemples pris à Chiraz permettront de déceler, sinon déjà d'éclairer pleinement, des aspects nouveaux du mécénat timouride (1).

* * *

Mīrzā Iskandar, fils de 'Umar Šayḫ et petit-fils de Tamerlan, a régné en Fars de 1409 — il est alors âgé de vingt-deux ans — à 1414. Ses domaines furent le dernier apanage timouride à être transféré, par la force, à la lignée de Šāhruḫ en la personne d' Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, neuf années après la mort de Tamerlan.

On est mal renseigné sur son activité de bâtisseur. Il entreprit à Ispahan de grands travaux, isolant de l'agglomération le quartier de Dō-dang et le Naqš-i Ǧihān ; il y éleva, à l'intérieur d'une double enceinte défendue par un fossé plein d'eau, un palais *(kūšk)*, des hammams, des bazars, une madrasa et un

(1) J'ai déjà abordé la question dans mon introduction aux *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Ni'matullah Wali Kermani*, Téhéran-Paris, 1956 (Bibliothèque Iranienne, vol. 7). Les pages finales de mon introduction ayant été supprimées (à mon insu) lors de l'impression, je reprends ici mon exposé en le développant.

hôpital (1). Ce dispositif, aménagé en prévision des soulèvements urbains autant que pour se défendre des attaques de l'extérieur, Iskandar en retrouvait le plan à Yazd, où la citadelle, qui datait de 799/1396-97, était également fortifiée du côté de la ville ; en 808/1405-06 Iskandar, alors gouverneur de Yazd, compléta les défenses et incorpora un quartier de la ville à la citadelle, dans laquelle il construisit un palais et des hammams (2). A Chiraz, où il fit édifier en 814/1411-12 une forteresse, le Qal'a-yi J̌alālī (3), sa résidence était le palais de Taḫt-i Qarāča, situé au nord de la ville (4). Il n'est pas possible de définir la part qui revient à Iskandar dans la construction et l'embellissement du palais. António Tenreiro qui l'a visité en 1524 dit que l'enceinte, de deux lieues de tour, renfermait des choses admirables : des palais de marbre, décorés de motifs de stuc et de faïences de couleur, des arbres de toutes sortes, des roses à profusion, des allées bordées de cyprès si grands qu'il y faisait sombre en plein midi, une grande pièce d'eau au milieu de laquelle s'élevait un pavillon richement décoré (5).

Chiraz fut sous Iskandar un centre de culture turke-čaġatay. Lui-même était né d'une des épouses mongoles de son père, Mulkat Āġā (6), fille du Čaġataïde de Turkestan oriental Ḫiḍr Ḫwāǰa Oġlan (7), qui passa dans le harem de Šāhruḫ après la mort de 'Umar Šayḫ. Comme son père, Iskandar avait été gouverneur de la marche de Ferghane, sur le haut Syr-darya. Les émirs d'origine centre-asiatique étaient nombreux dans leur entourage. Lorsqu'Iskandar reçut par la suite le gouvernement

(1) *Tārīḫ-i Ja'farī*, ms. Leningrad, non folioté (microfilm H. R. Roemer).

(2) Aḥmad *b.* 'Alī Kātib, *Tārīḫ-i ǰadīd-i Yazd*, Yazd, 1317 s., p. 99-100.

(3) *Tārīḫ-i Ja'farī*, ms. cité.

(4) Au début du XIX^e siècle il ne restait plus des constructions du Taḫt-i Qarāča qu'un tertre *(pušta-yi ḫākī)* en bordure duquel les terres étaient cultivées. Lorsqu'au début du règne de Muḥammad Šāh Qāǰār on fit des travaux sur cet emplacement, englobé dans le Taḫt-i Qāǰārīya, des vestiges furent mis au jour ('Alī Akbar Šīrāzī, *Tadkira-yi Dilgušā*, ms. British Museum Or. 8202, fol. 73b).

(5) António Tenreiro, *Itinerário*, éd. A. Baião, Coïmbre, 1923 (Scriptores rerum lusitanarum, Serie B, II), p. 17-18.

(6) *Mu'izz al-Ansāb*, ms. B. N. Paris, Ancien fonds persan 67, fol. 100b, 102a ; Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, éd. Bibliotheca Indica, I, p. 670.

(7) Grousset, *Empire des Steppes*, p. 500, 502-503 ; Aubin, *Extraits du Muntakhab al-Tavarikh-i Mu'ini (Anonyme d'Iskandar)*, Téhéran, 1957, p. 130-131, 418.

de Hamadan l'*Īl-va-ulūs-i Moġūl* lui fut attribué (1). Il est probable que c'est à la présence d'émirs « Mongols » dans son état-major en Fars que l'on doit les renseignements originaux sur l'Asie Centrale transmis par l'historien qui travaillait à Chiraz pour le compte d'Iskandar (2). Parmi les auteurs qu'il protégea figure le poète Mīr Ḥaydar, qui écrivait en persan, mais surtout en turki (3). Iskandar lui-même composait des vers en turki (4). Le célèbre poète Abū Isḥaq Aṭ'ima, qui fut un de ses familiers, est l'auteur d'un ghazal en plusieurs langues dans lequel, la préséance du premier bayt étant donnée à l'arabe, le turki occupe la seconde place, avant le persan ; Cl. Huart a vu là une flatterie à l'adresse d'Iskandar (5).

Le goût d'Iskandar pour la poésie persane s'est manifesté dans ces anthologies poétiques compactes dont plusieurs spécimens sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, transmettant, entre autres, les plus anciens textes connus de poèmes de Ḥāfiẓ (6). Un de ces manuscrits conservé au British Museum, magnifiquement illustré (7), mérite d'être appelé, selon l'expression de Rieu, une « bibliothèque de poche ». Il contient, à côté d'œuvres intégrales, — *Ḫamsa* de Niẓāmī, *Ilahī-nāma* et *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* de 'Aṭṭār, — quantité d'extraits, ghazals, qasidas, dus à un grand nombre de poètes persans de toutes époques, entre lesquels s'intercalent des traités d'astrologie, de fiqh, et même un opuscule sur les maladies des chevaux. On y rencontre aussi

(1) *Ḏayl-i Ẓafar-nāma*, ms. Mašhad, fol. 21b.

(2) *Extraits du Muntakhab al-Tavarikh-i Mu'ini*, avant-propos (en persan), pages *ḥ-ṭ*. Le *Mu'izz al-Ansāb* ne connaît pas de secrétaire turki à Iskandar, et est de même mal renseigné sur l'entourage de 'Umar Šayḫ.

(3) Pavet de Courteille, préface du *Miradj-nama*, Paris, 1882 (Publ. ELOV, II/vi), p. xxii-xxix ; Daulatšāh, éd. Browne, p. 371 ; Navā'ī, *Maǰālis al-nafā'is*, trad. Faḫrī Harātī (xvi^e siècle), éd. A. A. Hekmat, Téhéran, 1945, p. 124.

(4) *Maǰālis al-nafā'is*, éd. citée, p. 125.

(5) Clément Huart, *Le ghazel heptaglotte d'Abou Isḥaq Ḥallâdj*, dans *Journal Asiatique*, XI/4 (1914/II), p. 629-637.

(6) Ms. Gulbenkian, cf. Stchoukine, *l. l.*, p. 40-41. Mss. d'Istanbul, cf. H. Ritter dans *Der Islam* 26/3 (1942), p. 239-242 et liste p. 240 note 1 ; cf. aussi Ritter, *Der Islam* 26/2 (1940), p. 147 et p. 156. Remarquer que le ms. Veliyedin 1680, daté *818 H., entrepris peut-être pour Iskandar, aura été achevé après sa chute et porte l'ex-libris de l'émir Čaqmaq Šāmī.

(7) Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, p. 868-871 ; Stchoukine, p. 41.

un traité de cosmographie du fameux astronome Ġiyāṯ al-Dīn Ǧamšīd b. Mas'ūd Kāšī, qui fut le protégé d'Iskandar avant de devenir à Samarqand le maître d'Uluġ Beg (1).

Les madrasas de Chiraz avaient compté sous les Muzaffarides parmi les plus illustres de l'Islam, où enseignaient des théologiens réputés, tels Sayyid Šarīf Ǧurǧānī ou les Iǰī. Sayyid Šarīf, qui avait été déporté à Samarqand, regagna le Fars à la mort de Tamerlan. Le grand connaisseur de la littérature coranique, le damascain Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ǧazarī, traîné de Brousse en Transoxiane après la bataille d'Ankara, se mit également en route, en 1405, par Hérat et Yazd, avec l'intention de gagner La Mecque. Il ne devait y arriver qu'en 1420, les gouverneurs successifs du Fars ayant tenu à le garder à Chiraz comme qāḍī al-quḍāt (2). Par leur clientèle et par leur fonction les madrasas n'étaient pas tributaires des sollicitudes des mécènes ; mais les attentions des gouvernants, on le voit, n'épargnaient pas les maîtres, convoités ou suspectés, qui faisaient leur gloire. Mīrzā Iskandar a accordé son intérêt aux questions qui s'y débattaient. Šāh Ni'matullah Valī Kirmānī rédigea à l'intention d'Iskandar une risāla dans laquelle il répondait à des questions de théologie que lui posait le prince ; plusieurs manuscrits gardent le texte de cette épître (3). Dans un maǰmū'a persan de l'India Office Library, à Londres, figure une risāla de Sayyid Šarīf Ǧurǧānī qui répond à un questionnaire d'Iskandar identique à celui envoyé à Šāh Ni'matullah Valī (4).

(1) L'œuvre de Jamšīd Kāšī a été examinée depuis peu par P. Luckey, E. S. Kennedy, A. P. Juskevič et B. A. Rosenfel'd. Bibliographie dans Kennedy, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1956, p. 123-177. T. N. Kary-Nijazov, *Astronomičeskaja škola Ulugbeka*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1950, ne délimite pas assez la part de chacun.

(2) *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā'*, éd. Bergsträsser et Pretzl, II, p. 250.

(3) Je cite d'après le ms. British Museum Add. 16837, fol. 332b-335b.

(4) India Office ms. persan 1234, fol. 275-285 (Ethé, *Catalogue*, I, n° 1864, p. 1028), où l'envoi du questionnaire, expédié d'Ispahan, est daté de 825 H., faussement puisqu'à cette date étaient morts et l'expéditeur et le destinataire. Il faut lire 815. Graphiquement la confusion est facile ; d'autre part Iskandar ne s'empara d'Ispahan qu'en 814 et Šarīf Jurǰānī mourut en 816. Dans sa risāla Šāh Ni'matullah déclare avoir reçu le questionnaire le 4 rabī' I d'une année non spécifiée. 4 rabī' I 815 = 14 juin 1412. Selon Saḫāwī, *Ḍau' al-Lāmi'*, éd. Caire, V, p. 329, l'épître répondrait à des questions posées par Iskandar sultan de Tabriz, le Qara Qoyunlu,

Iskandar veut savoir si fut créé d'abord l'intellect *('aql)* ou l'amour *('išq)*; comment l'esprit *(rūḥ)* peut s'allier au corps humain créé de terre et ce qu'il devient après sa séparation d'avec lui ; quelle est la nature des anges et comment ils ont la faculté de parcourir en un instant mille années de chemin ; pourquoi Gabriel ne visite que les prophètes et qui il est ; qui est Satan et quel est son pouvoir sur toutes choses créées ; si le mi'rāǧ a été physique ou spirituel ; ce qu'est Boraq ; la nature des épreuves du Jugement, ce que sont le ciel et l'enfer, et pourquoi ils sont divisés en huit et sept étages, ni plus ni moins. Iskandar insiste sur le fait que les théologiens qui ont écrit de ces sujets donnent des interprétations divergentes et embrouillent les questions. Il attend des réponses nettes.

Cette exigence et les difficultés communes soumises par le prince à ses illustres correspondants témoignent plus d'un appétit de certitudes rapides que d'une culture spirituelle quelque peu approfondie. Les résultats de la consultation ne durent pas le satisfaire : Sayyid Šarīf, tenant pour le *'aql*, et Ni'matullah Valī, tenant pour le *'išq*, ne furent pas mieux d'accord que les auteurs dont les controverses laissaient l'esprit d'Iskandar en suspens. Peut-être l'opinion que se faisait Sayyid Šarīf des aptitudes de son interlocuteur est-elle responsable de la médiocrité de son argumentation, dans laquelle il s'efforce de faire comprendre les notions les plus rudimentaires à la lumière des exemples les plus pauvres. Ni 'matullah au contraire, dont les rapports personnels avec Iskandar étaient excellents, — le prince lui avait abandonné les revenus du district de Taft pour subventionner la construction du grand ḫānaqāh qu'il édifiait dans cette localité, — écrit qu'au reçu du questionnaire il l'a « baisé et mis sur la prunelle de son œil » ; il étend l'enthousiasme mystique et la ferveur qui anime ses réponses à la personne même de l'interrogateur royal, désigné comme « celui auquel le monde est voué : tout ce qui existe est pour lui », « le refuge du califat », « la manifestation de l'objet des grâces divines, la source et l'origine des perfections sans bornes ».

ce qui ne tient pas. Ignorant Rieu, II, p. 869, Bartol'd a commis une erreur analogue (*Ulug Beg*, trad. Hinz, p. 163), qui a cru que Jamšīd Kāšī travaillait pour Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu.

Protecteur des poètes, encourageant les sciences exactes en la personne de Ǧamšīd Kāšī, patron de miniaturistes et de calligraphes, interrogeant les plus grandes autorités de son temps pour résoudre les problèmes qui tourmentent sa curiosité métaphysique : admirera-t-on en Iskandar, mécène dont l'intérêt se porte sur toutes les activités de l'esprit, un cas exemplaire de cette éducation par l'ambiance iranienne des petits-fils des conquérants barbares, selon le schéma fallacieux du *Persia capta ferum victorem cepit?*

En dépit des apparences il faut poser la question. Iskandar en personne y répond dans la préface d'un ouvrage, perdu ou jamais rédigé, qui s'intitulait *Ǧāmi'-i sulṭānī*. Cette préface est transmise, il n'est pas indifférent de le noter, dans un recueil constitué par Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, l'auteur du *Ẓafar-nāma*, ou par un de ses intimes (1).

« Ainsi parle le serviteur du Dieu Très-Haut et le maître qui commande là ses serviteurs, Iskandar fils de 'Umar Šayḫ, — Dieu leur pardonne à tous deux et soit satisfait d'eux. — Lorsque le secours *(ta'yīd)* divin, et particulièrement la faveur *('ināyat)* infinie, choisit cet indigne parmi l'ensemble des créatures et coupa la robe d'honneur du califat apparent et spirituel sur la stature de sa capacité et la taille de sa valeur il orna et embellit, pour l'extérieur, le diplôme de sa fortune avec la tugra de : « le sultan est le calife de Dieu sur la terre », et, pour l'intérieur, il éclaira et illumina la niche de la lampe de sa nature des lumières de : « les secrets de mes saints sont sous mes voûtes, nul autre que moi ne les connaît »; il fit de ses dehors la manifestation des subtilités du sultanat et de la royauté, et de son intérieur l'exposant des finesses des sciences et des connaissances divines. Louange à Dieu et louange à Dieu. *(Vers)* : Je célèbre d'âme et de cœur le Dieu qui fit si digne de sa grâce une poussière.

« Nécessairement cet indigne [Iskandar] ayant, selon la sentence « si vous remerciez Dieu il augmentera ses grâces », répondu à cette grâce et à ce don infini en exécutant les obligations du remerciement et de l'action de grâce, s'efforça de telle

(1) Ms. Cambridge Browne H5(7), fol. 44b-49a.

façon à relever les pays et déploya de tels efforts que les traces en demeureront et dureront sur les pages du temps et les feuillets des cycles et des siècles. Nonobstant son application à maintenir les règles du droit et de l'équité et à accomplir les devoirs de la justice et de la sollicitude envers les sujets, — car « une heure de bienfaisance vaut soixante-dix années », — il dépensait les richesses des temps et la quintessence des durées et des moments à acquérir les sciences et connaissances certaines et à accumuler les vertus et les perfections véritables qui sont le capital de la béatitude éternelle et l'ornement de la fortune perpétuelle. Et en tout temps il tournait les rênes de l'effort et du soin vers l'acquisition de (l'objet de) ce haut désir et de ce noble but.

« Guidé par la faveur souveraine et favorisé par la direction divine, dont l'éclat des signes est visible et évident dans les autres affaires et événements qui le concernent comme le soleil au zénith des cieux, il devint en peu de temps informé et instruit de l'ensemble des sciences, rationnelles et révélées, fondamentales et dérivées, et il poussa la vérification des discussions et des buts de toutes (ces sciences) à un degré dont le terme des pas des habiles et des maîtres de cet art n'atteint pas les approches du commencement. Dans chacune de ces sciences il découvrit des questions merveilleuses et des points étonnants, selon l'expression : « les maîtres du pouvoir sont inspirés », et des finesses délicates ; « et cela est la grâce de Dieu, qu'il dispense à qui il veut ».

« Comme il est établi et certifié pour les gens pénétrants que la fin et le but de la création est celui (dont il est dit) : « si ce n'était pour toi je n'eusse créé les cieux », la connaissance est de connaître Dieu Très-Haut et Très-Saint, ses noms, ses attributs transcendants, ses actes et ses œuvres sublimes. Les mystiques appellent cette connaissance « science de l'unicité divine » *('ilm-i ṭauḥīd)* et y atteignent par la révélation et l'appréhension mystique. Quant aux chercheurs formalistes qui se contentent de l'acceptation passive pure et ne courbent pas la tête [pour méditer], et qui frappent l'anneau de la convoitise à la porte de ce désir à la force du bras de la raison et avec l'agilité du hoche-queue de la cogitation, un groupe parmi eux fait de la théologie *(kalām)* le moyen d'obtenir cette béatitude

et une secte jette le dé du choix sur la sagesse *(ḥikmat-i ilahī)*. *(Vers)*: Chacun y vient par un moyen divers.

« Donc, avec un appétit total et une intention sincère, l'auteur commença d'abord par le *'ilm-i tauḥīd* et prit connaissance des résultats et de la récolte des saints et des maîtres anciens, — que Dieu soit satisfait d'eux, — qui ont chacun donné des preuves selon leur nature et leur sens perceptif *(ḏauq)* et ont proféré des choses valables. Il profita des résultats de l'esprit parfumé des grands de ce siècle, — que Dieu multiplie leur nombre et les perpétue, — oralement, en leur compagnie, et aussi au cours de ses études, dans leurs traités et leurs écrits. Il bénéficia dans une abondante mesure et une part complète des subtilités de la « science des lettres » *('ilm-i ḥurūf)*, dont la manifestation est une des particularités du temps auguste du Sceau (des Prophètes). Grâce aux attentions divines, — « une attraction des attractions divines égale l'œuvre de l'homme et du djinn », — il devint informé de beaucoup des beautés des secrets de l'unicité et il découvrit beaucoup des subtilités des vérités et connaissances divines dont il n'avait pas vu les pareilles dans les œuvres des anciens, ni ne les avait entendues dans les propos des contemporains. « Mais raconte la plénitude de ton Seigneur ».

« Après cela, ayant prêté attention aux expressions techniques des savants il devint informé et au courant de l'histoire de chaque groupe des gens cultivés et des lettrés, des traditionnistes et des canonistes, des théologiens et des philosophes, des mathématiciens, des maîtres des disciplines, etc., selon leurs différentes catégories. Comme après la « science de l'unicité », qui est le but essentiel et la fin véritable, nulle science n'est plus importante et plus profitable que l'astronomie *('ilm-i nujūm)*, car les classes des humains, humbles et grands, en particulier les gouverneurs et les chefs de haut rang, les sultans et les souverains tout-puissants, ont un besoin tout ce qu'il y a d'absolu à la savoir et à la connaître, et la véridicité de ce dire se passe de preuves et de justifications, s'adonnant parfois à acquérir et à perfectionner cet art éminent, il s'occupa de cosmographie *('ilm-i hay'at)*, qui est le fondement et la base de cette noble science. Il se consacra ensuite à l'établissement

de tables astronomiques, aux moyens d'extraction des éphémérides et des horoscopes, à leurs révolutions, dérivations et développements, et il s'occupa d'en extraire des résultats astrologiques *(aḥkām)* qui sont comme le fruit et le produit de toute (l'astronomie).

« Il réunit la plupart des écrits et des œuvres que les anciens et les modernes ont connus sur cette science, mais il ne trouva pas parmi eux de somme qui dispense le chercheur d'autres textes. Aussi composa-t-il le présent ouvrage complet, enfermant toutes les choses importantes de ces sciences, et il l'intitula *Ǧāmi'-i sulṭānī*, bien qu'il ne réponde pas non plus à l'ambition de son dessein. Car il a été composé, comme l'auteur voyageait, sur la voie de l'improvisation (?). Le *Zīǧ-i īlḫānī* étant la plus juste, la plus digne de confiance et la meilleure des tables astronomiques, on en a fait dans la partie pratique la base et le principe, et, étant donné que son auteur [Ṭūsī] l'a écrit élégamment et qu'il est très difficile, [Iskandar] a rendu chaque opération claire et évidente par un exemple correspondant et conforme. Comme de ces parties la cosmographie était la première elle a été mentionnée au début de l'ouvrage et la substance en a été abrégée en vingt chapitres. »

A supposer que la préface ne soit pas l'œuvre d'Iskandar, ce qui paraît probable, et que, suivant un usage bien attesté, il ait confié à un secrétaire le soin de rédiger, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il imposait le ton et acceptait le contenu. La vanité qui perce dans la préface du *Ǧāmi'-i sulṭānī* peut s'expliquer aussi bien par la flatterie du rédacteur que par la démesure dans l'orgueil qui caractérisa plus d'un des jeunes princes timourides. Les prétentions qui s'y étalent appellent d'expresses réserves. Ce *Ǧāmi'-i sulṭānī* consistait donc en une réédition du *Zīǧ-i īlḫānī* de Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, précédé d'un rapide aperçu de cosmographie en vingt chapitres, qui était la contribution propre d'Iskandar. Il est troublant de noter qu'un des traités de Ǧamšīd Kāšī écrit pour Iskandar était précisément un abrégé de cosmographie en vingt chapitres (1), et que le *Zīǧ-i ḫāqānī* de Ǧamšīd Kāšī est une réédition, avec des compléments,

(1) Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss.*, II, p. 869.

du *Zīj-i īlḫānī* (1). Quand on voit la désinvolture avec laquelle Iskandar parle des propos et des travaux des théologiens qu'il a rencontrés on se demande s'il pouvait avoir des scrupules à s'approprier les œuvres que lui soumettait Kāšī. L'apport le plus authentique d'Iskandar ne serait-il pas cet utilitarisme astrologique vers lequel la préface du *J̌ami'-i sulṭānī* invite à dévier la recherche astronomique fondamentale ? Replacée dans le contexte de l'époque cette primauté donnée à l'astrologie n'a rien d'insolite, non plus que la préférence accordée sur le rationalisme métaphysique au mysticisme, qui aurait mené Iskandar loin sur les voies de la théologie. La réalité de ses performances est infirmée, cependant, par la teneur du questionnaire envoyé à Šāh Ni'matullah et à Sayyid Šarīf.

D'autre part Iskandar déploya-t-il les efforts pacifiques, montra-t-il envers ses sujets la sollicitude qu'on nous dit ? Le seul fait qui, dans l'état actuel de la documentation, éclaire la vie à la ville sous son gouvernement est qu'en 1414, à la simple annonce de la campagne de Šāhruḫ contre lui, la population de la ville se souleva (2). Prince d'une cour où la culture iranienne était à l'honneur, Iskandar était en même temps le meneur de bandes qui ne formèrent jamais une armée de la civilisation contre la barbarie. Féroce chef de guerre il saccagea le Kirman, enlevant les femmes et les enfants, comblant les canaux, coupant les arbres (3). Mesures qui ne contredisent pas cet « amour attendri de la nature » que M. Godard croit découvrir chez les mécènes timourides, mais qui en taillent brutalement les limites. La culture iranienne affrontait des conditions historiques telles qu'elle pouvait bien plier le goût à ses canons, elle n'était pas apte à façonner les esprits et les caractères. Peut-être, grâce au patronage exercé par Iskandar, certaines traditions artistiques demeurèrent-elles vivaces pour un temps.

(1) Bartol'd/Hinz, p. 163, a pensé à tord que le ḫāqān pour qui cet ouvrage fut préparé était Šāhruḫ, et qu'avant d'aller à Samarqand Kāšī aurait vécu à Hérat.

(2) Selon le *Tārīḫ-i Ja'farī*, qui ajoute que devant la résistance de la garnison les sayyids et les ulémas rejetèrent sur le petit peuple (*aubāš*, « la canaille ») la responsabilité de la révolte.

(3) Jean Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV^e siècle*, Wiesbaden, 1956 (Akad. d. Wiss. und d. Lit. in Mainz, Abh. d. Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl., Jahrgang, 1956, n° 7), p. 35-38.

Son comportement, qui était celui de beaucoup d'autres, illustrait le manque de prise de la culture sur la réalité. Cependant qu'en poésie les œuvres les plus demandées étaient le *Šāh-nāma* de Firdausī et la *Ḫamsa* de Niẓāmī, — et cette vogue mériterait une étude.

Le divorce, les protégés des princes timourides l'ont perçu essentiellement, je dirais exclusivement, sous la forme de la disharmonie grandissante entre le principe de l'autorité et la pratique de son exercice. De là ces efforts pour lier la fonction royale à l'ordre divin, en des tentatives diverses, tâtonnantes, et souvent mal interprétées ; car c'est le chiisme, qu'on pose en élément traditionnel d'opposition au pouvoir temporel, qui, à l'époque mongole, a tenté de masquer le vide. On peut s'y tromper, les opposants ayant protesté à chaque occasion de leur attachement au régime et de leur stricte orthodoxie.

La religion d'Iskandar charriait sûrement beaucoup de superstition. Mais il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait été dévot, par accès. L'historien Ibn Šihāb Yazdī raconte qu'après sa déposition, en 1414, — on s'était contenté de l'aveugler, — il souhaita mener une vie ascétique et s'installa pendant quelques mois auprès de l'imamzâda Sahl-i 'Alī, à bonne distance d'Ispahan (1). Il est vrai qu'ayant gardé l'usage partiel d'un œil il se mit un beau jour en selle pour aller soulever Chiraz. Du moins, si l'information est exacte, sa requête de mener une vie solitaire et pieuse n'avait-elle pas, lorsqu'il y fut acquiescé, été jugée un pur prétexte. De tels appels mystiques n'étaient pas liés nécessairement à des tragédies personnelles. Ainsi, en 1396, le dārūġa d'Ispahan avait « accepté l'invitation de Dieu », tandis que l'émir Tökel-i Qarqara abandonnait ses fonctions d'émir pour devenir disciple d'un šayḫ (2). Ce Tökel fut par la suite le principal des émirs de Mīrzā Iskandar (3).

Contrairement à son frère et prédécesseur Pīr Muḥammad, Iskandar était chiite. Dans l'encyclopédie portative du British Museum exécutée pour lui, le traité de droit chiite attribué à

(1) Ibn Šihāb Yazdī, *Jāmi'al-Tavārīḫ-i Ḫasanī*, ms. B. N. Téhéran, p. 798.
(2) Tauer, *Ẓafarnāma* de Niẓāmuddīn Šāmī, II, p. 130.
(3) 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, I (éd. Lahore, 1946), p. 160.

l'imam Riḍā est la seule pièce à être écrite sur fond or (1). Rappelons que Šāh Ni'matullah Valī va jusqu'à décerner à Iskandar l'épithète de « refuge du califat », titre auquel Šāhruḫ essayait de conférer toute sa valeur. Il ne semble pas qu'Iskandar l'ait porté, et son historiographe, chiite convaincu, qui à sa chute s'empressera d'en qualifier Šāhruḫ (2), ne le lui décerne pas. Dans son ex-libris Iskandar s'intitule seulement « ombre de Dieu ». Les termes choisis par Šāh Ni 'matullah Valī prennent du relief si on les rapproche de certaines expressions employées par l'historiographe d'Iskandar, qui qualifie son maître de « Mahdi de la fin des temps » et de « guide du croyant et de la foi » (3), et par le préfacier du *Jāmi'-i sulṭānī:* pour celui-ci « le sultan est le calife de Dieu sur terre » et Iskandar détient le califat sous son double aspect, temporel et spirituel. La préface du *Jāmi'-i sulṭānī* fait endosser à Iskandar des tendances ḫurūfīes (4) qui, si elles sont le fait de son secrétaire, étaient largement répandues dans son entourage. Il est probable que dans l'opposition à Šāhruḫ qu'Iskandar affirmera jusqu'à la rupture l'influence de cet entourage n'a pas été absente.

* * *

Parmi les personnages de marque qui furent inquiétés après la tentative ḫurūfīe d'assassiner Šāhruḫ, en 1427, sont nommés Ma'rūf Baġdādī, artiste djalaïride qui avait occupé d'importantes fonctions dans la bibliothèque d'Iskandar avant d'être emmené à Hérat par Šāhruḫ (5), et un théologien soufi dont le père et le frère étaient ḫurūfīs, et lui-même aussi très vraisem-

(1) Ms. cité, fol. 348-364. Dans la préface du *Jāmi'-i sulṭānī* sont invoqués Allah, Muḥammad *et 'Alī.*

(2) Aubin, *Extraits* (cité *supra*, p. 76, note 7), p. 115, 116, 362, 369.

(3) *Extraits*, p. 433. Après la chute d'Iskandar c'est Šāhruḫ qu'il qualifie de « mahdi de l'époque », p. 406, note 5.

(4) Cf. *supra*, p. 82, lignes 12-15.

(5) *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, I (éd. 1946), p. 315-316 ; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, p. 366 ; Qāḍī Aḥmad, trad. Zakhoder, *Traktat o kalligrafach*, Moscou-Leningrad, 1947, p. 71-73.

blablement, Ṣā'in al-Dīn 'Alī Turka Iṣfahānī, un ancien protégé d'Iskandar (1).

Baysonġor profita du complot ḥurūfī pour se venger de Ma'rūf Baġdādī, qui avait refusé de copier pour lui la *Ḫamsa* de Niẓāmī. Ma'rūf, dont il demanda en vain la tête, fut descendu dans un des « puits » de la citadelle de Hérat. Par la même opportunité Baysonġor expulsa de Hérat Qāsim al-Anvār, qui trouva refuge en Transoxiane auprès d'Uluġ Beg. Celui qui avec Qāsim al-Anvār peut être considéré comme le meilleur poète de l'époque de Šāhruḫ, Kātibī de Nīšāpūr, deviendra murīd, à Ispahan, de Ṣā'in al-Dīn Turka, et renoncera sur les conseils de son directeur spirituel à célébrer les princes et la vie de cour (2). Un autre Turka, Afḍal al-Dīn, engagé dans la révolte de 1446 contre Šāhruḫ, fut pendu ; c'est seulement devant le nœud coulant, lorsqu'il comprit qu'il n'y avait plus rien à espérer, qu'il dévoila sa haine secrète. Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, l'ancien protégé d'Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, faillit perdre la vie pour avoir jeté le masque dans cette occasion mal calculée : les révoltés avaient estimé le vieux Šāhruḫ trop malade pour réagir. Grousset a jugé très sévèrement Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī sur l'évidence de son *Ẓafar-nāma*, écrit de nombreuses années après la mort de Tamerlan, et où sont développés des thèmes déjà utilisés par Niẓām al-Dīn Šāmī. J'ai proposé une interprétation plus plausible des passages incriminés (3) : Šaraf al-Dīn Yazdī, et la suite le prouva, était un de ceux dont l'adhésion au régime timouride était la moins gratuite. A lui aussi Uluġ Beg offrit asile. De son côté Qāḍīzāda Rūmī, l'astronome qui collaborait à Samarqand avec Uluġ Beg, avait été l'élève du ḥurūfī Ṣadr al-Dīn Turka et le condisciple du frère cadet de celui-ci, Ṣā'in al-Dīn 'Alī Turka (4). Ṣā'in al-Dīn 'Alī Turka et Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī avaient, sur le conseil de Šāh Ni'matullah Valī, fait le voyage de Syrie pour étudier la symbolique des lettres *(ǰafr)* auprès

(1) *Mélanges Massignon*, I, p. 145-146 ; Malek oš-Šo'arā Bahār, *Sabk-šenāsī*, III, p. 230-231 ; H. Corbin, dans Bibliothèque Iranienne, vol. 2, p. 53-54, vol. 4, p. 27, 195.

(2) Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, III, p. 489.

(3) *Mélanges Massignon*, I, p. 145.

(4) *Matériaux* (cité *supra*, p. 75, note 1), p. 70.

de Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḫlāṭī (1). On ne sait à peu près rien de Ḥusayn Aḫlāṭī, sinon qu'il exerça une grande influence sur un autre de ses élèves, qui fut lui aussi mêlé à l'agitation politico-sociale, mais en Turquie : Šayḫ Badr al-Dīn (2).

Ces quelques indices épars, s'ils ne sont la preuve de rien, esquissent toutefois, dessous les traits conventionnels de la « Renaissance timouride », certains linéaments d'une conjoncture sociale dans laquelle mécènes et mécénat devront être ramenés à leur juste place.

Jean AUBIN
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(1) *Matériaux*, p. 70. Mufīd Mustaufī Yazdī, *Jāmi'-i mufīdī*, ms. B. N. Paris Supplément persan 1824, fol. 106b-107a, rapporte que selon le *Sullam al-Samavā* de Šayḫ Abū'l-Qāsim b. Šayḫ Abū Ḥāmid Kāzarūnī Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī fit le voyage de Bagdad, d'Égypte et de Tabriz avec Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Turka [et non avec Ṣā'in al-Dīn 'Alī, son frère].

(2) Cf. F. Babinger, *Scheich Bedr ed-Din*, dans *Der Islam*, IX (1921), aux pages 23-25 ; J. Kissling, dans ZDMG 100/1 (1950), aux pages 149, 156 sqq. L'interprétation de P. Wittek, BSOS, 1952, p. 662, note 2, atténue le rôle révolutionnaire de Badr al-Dīn.

Selon Ḥašrī, *Rauḍa-yi Aṭhār*, lith. Tabriz 1303 H. Q., p. 78-79, Sayyid Ḥusayn Aḫlāṭī est enterré à Tabriz dans le « takya-yi Aḫlāṭī ».

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE FERTILE CRESCENT IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY

(1)

Delicate and complex as butterflies, our ideas may grow from their first beginnings in the secret womb of a single mind, until they shake the foundations of society; even when they die, they may leave behind them mental habits which mould our thinking more, sometimes, than we know. For the natural historian of ideas, few subjects can be more interesting than the growth and influence of a certain idea which Western Europe has had about the world. When, about the middle of the nineteenth century, Englishmen and Frenchmen found themselves possessed of undreamed-of power over the old communities of Asia, and saw them gradually changing beneath that power, they did not in general doubt which way the process of change was going and what was its value. In 1835, after a discussion in which Macaulay's was the dominant voice, the British Governor-General of India decided that " the great object of the British Government ought to be the penetration of European literature and science among the nations of India "; and it seems probable that most thoughtful men of his age, and of a later age, shared Macaulay's belief that such an enterprise was not only desirable but possible. If we are not wiser than they, we have more doubts. We have seen in Asia a new longing, even among those who have most deeply accepted the literature and science of Europe, to join hands with their own past; and the changes which continue do not

tend so much to absorb the communities of the East into that of Europe as to absorb it into a new world-community, linked at least on the level of technique and of social and political organization. Few would now maintain that the replacement of the ancient civilizations of Asia by the new civilization of Europe is a process which is bound to continue until it is complete; and not all would maintain that, in so far as it is taking place, it substitutes something of more value for something of less. But an idea which no longer has power to move our actions can still live on as a historical category. Historians must have some principle by which to select and arrange, and in the end (whether they know it or not) it is a principle by which they judge. Even if we no longer believe that the " westernization " of Asia will proceed to its completion, we may still take it for granted that what has been happening in the last hundred years *has been* " westernization ". Western historians looking at the Near East (and even Near Eastern historians, looking at themselves with eyes given their direction by the West) have tended to lay the emphasis on those developments which, to one who accepted the ideas of progress and westernization, seemed most significant. Of course there *have* been such developments in the last hundred years, and judged by almost any standards they are important; but to lay too much stress upon them may distort what really happened. It may lead us to believe that the essence of Near Eastern history in the last century has been the injection of something entirely new, modern Western civilization, into something entirely different, Ottoman Moslem civilization, and that its effect was to give new life to something which was dead — or rather, to replace what was dead by something new and live.

It is not our intention here to maintain that these theses are false, so much as to inquire whether they contain in themselves all that is significant in the modern history of the Near East. That a new sort of relationship was established in the nineteenth century between Europe and the Near East, and that its effect was to initiate certain new movements, cannot be denied; but was this all that happened? We propose to look once more at the civilization of the Near East as it was before the full impact

of the modern West was felt, and to ask whether in fact it was decaying or lifeless; whether indeed we can speak of a self-contained Ottoman Moslem society " before the full impact of the West was felt "; and how far what happened in the nineteenth century was simply the injection of something new, or the further development of movements already generated in the very heart of Near Eastern society, and now given new strength or a new turn by the insertion into them of the increased influence of Europe.

Since this is no more than an essay, not an exhaustive treatment of one of the great themes of modern history, it will be limited in scope. Our main attention will be given to one region of the Near East only, the " Fertile Crescent " which includes Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine; but some reference will be made to other regions as well, and to the general history of the Ottoman Empire.

(2)

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Asia Minor, the Balkans, the Arab countries of the Fertile Crescent, Egypt and the North African coast had been part of the Ottoman Empire for three hundred years. Regions so distant from one another, and peoples so varied in beliefs and ways of life, could not have been held together in political unity by anything less than a *tour de force.* The institutions of the great Ottoman age—the Sultanate, the slave-household, the Janissaries, the " feudal " cavalry, the religious hierarchy—have been often described, and aroused, at their height, the wonder of those who saw them; so much so indeed that here too we are in danger of a false historical perspective. We tend to think of the Empire of Suleiman the Magnificent as the " true " Empire, and judge all that came before and after in terms of it. Seen in this light, what came after was sheer decline; and in saying this, we are indeed only reflecting what the Ottomans themselves believed, or at least what they were in the habit of saying. From Khoja Bey onwards, it was the custom for Ottoman writers to put their proposals for reform in the shape of exhor-

tations to return to the great days of Sultan Suleiman. But like any institution which lasts for five hundred years, the Empire changed radically in course of time, although the degree of change was sometimes obscured by the liking which Ottomans shared with Englishmen for formal continuity. We can indeed—without imposing on the history of the Empire a greater degree of artificial order than is involved in our thinking about it at all—distinguish clearly several phases in Ottoman history. The Turkish frontier-State of the first phase was succeeded by the universal Sultanate ruled by slaves, and this in its turn virtually disappeared in the troubles of the seventeenth century. The whole machinery of government depended, in the last resort, on the political skill and virtue of the Sultan; and when the long line of splendid princes, whose eyes stare at us with confidence and unchallenged authority from the portraits in the Old Serai, began to weaken, the motive-force of the whole machine was diminished. There began a long struggle for power, to fill the vacuum at the heart of the Empire. Different groups in the Palace and different groups among the slave-officials, interlocked with each other in elaborate embrace, competed for control of the Sultan, with the Ulema and the slave-corps in the Army playing a certain role as instruments or supports. This " age of the women " ended with the Ottoman Government recovering some of its strength, towards the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. But although the Empire emerged from the crisis, it did so in a new form, and with its foundations permanently weakened. In so far as a single hand now controlled the Government, it was not that of the Sultan but that of the Grand Vizir, who had behind him the elite of the palace-schools, that solid and loyal group which held the Empire together. From the eldest Köprülü onwards, a succession (although by no means an unbroken one) of strong and vigorous Vizirs gave impetus to the Government; the Vizir's household became the central organ of control, and his own officials—his Kehya or chief lieutenant, his Re'īs ül-Küttāb or chief clerk—came to be ranked among the greatest of Imperial officials. This change was significant of a shift in the whole structure of political

power. The permanent officials in the bureaus of the government, the " men of the pen ", came to play a decisive part in the Empire, and they were now drawn from a different class. Although the fiction was preserved that they were slaves of the Sultan, in fact the old system of recruiting slaves into the ruling group had virtually died out. Black slaves from East Africa, and white slaves from the Caucasus in smaller numbers, were still recruited for the service of the Palace, but the major sources of recruitment—the *devshirme* and the renegades—had more or less dried up, and officials of the government, whether trained in the palace-schools, or in the religious *madāris*, were for the most part free-born Moslems, drawn from the Turkish population of Asia Minor and the Balkans, or at least absorbed into the community of Ottoman Turkish culture.

Thus a new centre of authority and a new ruling group appeared, and gave to the Empire a direction and a strength which, in the chaos of the seventeenth century, it seemed to have lost. But this revival came too late to restore to the Government that control over the whole Empire which it had possessed in an earlier age. The power of the Vizir could never be wholly a substitute for that of the Sultan, because its basis was different. His tenure of office was uncertain. He was appointed and dismissed by the Sultan; he could therefore be made and broken by the caprice of the Sultan, and those who had his ear—his mother, his concubines, or the Kizlar Agha, chief of the Black Eunuchs and the sole intermediary between the Sultan and his Government. Moreover, during the long crisis of the seventeenth century the control of the central Government over the provinces of the Empire had largely disappeared. This control had depended on three factors: an administration more precise and honest than any other of its age, ruling on the basis of full and accurate statistical knowledge and in accordance with regulations which took account of the rights of each community and the ancient customs of each region; the slave-army, loyal to the Sultan and the Empire, strictly disciplined and maintaining firm and impartial order; and the " feudal " cavalry, possessing the right to collect the land-tax and becoming virtual landowners of their districts,

and serving also as the network through which the Government controlled the countryside. By the eighteenth century all three had lost their efficacy. Officials were no longer honest. The Janissaries were no longer disciplined, or soldiers, or slaves; they were more dangerous to the Sultan than to his enemies, and more a threat to public order than the force which maintained it. The feudal cavalry too had lost their military importance, and as feudal tenures fell in they were replaced by a new sort of tenure, the tax-farms which were given for life and finally made hereditary, and which created a new class of virtual landowners, whose exactions and whose very existence increased the distance between Government and people (1).

(3)

Since the central Government could no longer control the Empire, it could no longer serve as the focus of loyalty and solidarity. Thus we can observe in the course of the eighteenth century a strengthening of the communal loyalties which had always formed the basis of Ottoman society, and a regrouping of the peoples of the Empire around those authorities which could give them what the Imperial Government no longer gave—a defence against disorder and a system of law regulating the relations of man and man.

In the steppe and the countryside, the Beduin challenge reasserted itself, and society regrouped itself around new tribal authorities. In the Syrian Desert, the spread of the Shammar and Anaza tribes from central Arabia into Syria and Iraq destroyed the power of the Mawali, who had been the strongest tribe of the early Ottoman centuries, and had lived in relative harmony with the Imperial Government. It destroyed also the trade-routes across the desert, which the control of the Mawali prince, and his good relations with the Government, had kept open. Even large caravans were plundered; in 1700,

(1) For the changes in the Ottoman system of government, see H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, volume I, part I, London, 1950, chapters I-III.

1703 and 1757 the Beni Sakhr plundered the Pilgrims' caravan from Damascus to Medina; in 1774 the Anaza plundered that from Damascus to Baghdad. What was more important still, in regions of settled life—near the coasts, the great rivers and the great cities—the tribes established their predominance. In some places this meant that settled life ceased—on the Tigris for example north of Baghdad, and on the Euphrates north of Hilla—; even where it continued, it did so under the protection of the more peaceable and sedentary Beduin chiefs, not under that of the Government. The annals of the countryside are scanty, but we hear of Ibn Habib protecting trade and agriculture in the Egyptian Delta; and of the Muntafiq dominating vast regions of southern Iraq. In the Muntafiq districts, sedentary tribesmen cultivated dates on the banks of the Euphrates, and merchants met in the little tribal centre of Suq al-Shuyukh, under the protection of the princes of the family of Shabib. They maintained their own customs-houses on the rivers, to levy tolls on boats passing from Basra to Hilla and Baghdad; and after the Persian occupation of Basra (1776-9), when they had shown themselves to be the only force on which the government could rely, they dominated the port, and even occupied it for a time (1785-7). A Christian merchant of Basra records that " respect and fear were given to the chiefs of the Arabs, and as for the Ottoman, nobody goes in awe of him " (1). In northern Palestine, again, a sheikh of Beduin origin, Dahir al-Umar, built up a little kingdom, where the Beduin at first gave him power, but he used it to protect the peasants and encourage French merchants to move from Saida to his new capital at Acre (2).

It was only in the hills and near the great garrison-towns that peasant life could hold out against the Beduin. In the hills, there was a strengthening of the power and autonomy of the local chieftains. In Jebel Druze on the edge of the Syrian Desert, Druzes from Lebanon were settling and building up

(1) Ya'qūb Sarkīs, *Mabāḥith 'Irāqiyya*, vol. I, Baghdad, 1948, p. 21.

(2) For the life of Dahir al-Umar, see Mīkhā'īl Ṣabbāgh, *Tārīkh al-shaikh Ẓāhir al-'Umar al-Zaidānī*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā, Harissa, n. d.

their independent societies under the Hamdans and other leading families; and here, by exception, it was the Druze peasants who dominated the Beduin, not the Beduin who extorted tribute from the peasants. In Mount Lebanon, the Shihabi princes strengthened that control over the whole mountain, north and south, which they had inherited from Fakhr al-Din; but there already existed, beneath the surface of unity and freedom, the tendencies which were to lead, in the nineteenth century, to the break-up of the unity of the mountain —the spread of the Maronite peasantry southwards, the increase in the power of their hierarchy, the gradual transfer of Shihabi favour from Druzes to Maronites, and the growth in influence of the great Druze families, Jumblatt and Bellama, through the extension of their control over the fertile lands of the Biqaa. In Kurdistan, the old ruling families were giving place to a new, more powerful house, that of Baban, and the Kurdish sheep-breeders of the Milli group, gathered in a new unity around a new chiefly family at the end of the eighteenth century, spread southwards from the foothills of Asia Minor towards the eastern bank of the Tigris.

It was in the towns that the grouping of the population around local centres of loyalty and defence was carried furthest, for it was here that the weight of Ottoman exactions and the effects of Ottoman decay were most fully felt. In the towns too, the closeness of man to man, and the relative freedom of individual choice in a society too complex to be wholly governed by custom, made possible the development of voluntary organizations. Already before the Ottoman conquest, such groupings had given to the Moslem city a complex unity: the craft-guilds, the associations not so much of the ordinary citizens as of the productive middle-class, the skilled merchants and craftsmen who formed the basis of urban economic life; the Christian and Jewish communities, living in accordance with their own religious law and custom under the authority of their own spiritual heads; the quarter, the association of those living in the same part of the city, and whose link of propinquity was often backed by that of common belief or common origin; the *ṭuruq* (brotherhoods of mystics following the path towards

union with God taught by a master of the spiritual life) which rallied personal devotion behind Islamic law, and served also as a link between different classes and races in the Moslem community. Now, as the Ottoman order decayed, the old forms of organization acquired a more specifically " political " purpose, of defence against the Ottoman authorities, and new ones with the same purpose arose by their side. The quarter became more of a real community, with its maze of narrow streets, its whole life turned inwards, its heavy doors barred at night, its headman and watchmen. The religious hierarchy too acquired a new importance, as leader and spokesman of " public opinion " against the Ottoman Governor and the civil officials. The Qadi, the head of the religious organization in each city, was appointed from Istanbul, and normally held office for a year only; but most of the other religious officials —the Naibs or deputy judges, the Naqib, the Muftis of the different religious schools—tended to be drawn from local families with a tradition of learning or social influence. Their political position was strong, not only because of public respect for them but also because of their essential part in the life of the Empire, as upholders of the *sharī'a*, the only recognized public law, as members of the councils of the Vizir and the local governors, and as belonging to a corps which was spread throughout the Empire, and whose influence reached to the ear of the Sultan. They could at times control and even depose the governor, either by action inside the city, or by petition sent to the Imperial authorities. Even the Qadi would at times use his influence to rescue the local population from an unloved Pasha.

The Ulema were drawn mainly from families of local standing. It was indeed the practice for such families to send their sons into the corps of Ulema, not only for the social influence it gave, but also because it provided some guarantee against the confiscation of property; Muradi tells us, for example, of a family who were soldiers to begin with but turned into a family of Ulema. Although the Ulema spoke in general for local interests, they tended to speak more specifically for the more prosperous and influential classes. In northern Syria those

classes—for reasons which are obscure—also found a defence in the organization of the *Ashrāf*, the privileged corps of those who claimed descent from the Prophet. This was the only recognized hereditary aristocracy, and its privileges, and the respect in which it was held, were inducements to those who had property or position to protect to secure admission to it even by false pretences. In Cairo, a Naqib was accused of entering the names of Copts in the register of *Ashrāf* (1); and in Aleppo and the neighbouring towns the numbers were enormous by the end of the eighteenth century. As they grew they came to play an important political role, and indeed for a generation after 1770 they virtually controlled Aleppo and its government (2).

Sharifs might be drawn from any social class, but they had a tendency to be drawn from families of some wealth, culture and standing. Those from a lower stratum of society looked for protection to another organization. As the Janissaries declined as a military force, they became more important as a political body. When the soldiers became craftsmen, it was a simple step for craftsmen to enrol themselves as soldiers. Thus not only in Istanbul but in the great provincial centres, there grew up bodies of Janissaries affiliated with the various regiments, giving military service (albeit of doubtful quality) when the Sultan was engaged in major wars, but otherwise serving no military purpose. But they served two other purposes. They provided, like Tammany Hall in New York, an essential aid and protection for the poorer section of the population, and particularly those whom the depopulation of the countryside was driving into the towns, and it was protection the more effective because of the legal privileges which the Janissaries enjoyed, and their connection with each other in all the cities of the Empire. They also provided ambitious popular leaders with an instrument by which they could

(1) 'Abdur-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *'Ajā'ib al-athar*, vol. IV, p. 194.

(2) For the role of the Sharifs and Janissaries in the politics of Aleppo, see H. L. Bodman, *Political Factors in Aleppo, 1760-1826* (Ph. D. thesis, Princeton, 1955).

establish their influence in town and government. Divided as they were into corps, the rivalry of leaders and quarters could easily lead to civil conflict; and in Damascus and perhaps elsewhere, there was conflict too between the locally enrolled "auxiliary" Janissaries *(Yerliyya)* and the full members of the Imperial corps, directly responsible to the central Government and occupying the Citadel *(Kapikouli)* (1). Their conflicts often threatened public order and prosperity, and sometimes—as in Aleppo in the first years of the nineteenth century—they succeeded in dominating the government.

In the Near East, landownership is an urban phenomenon, not only in the obvious sense that the landowner usually lives in the town and not on his estate, but also in the sense that his claim on the land is usually created and made effective by urban processes. It was the urban government which created the landowning classes of feudal cavalry and tax-farmers; and there gradually developed another class with claims on the land in those districts under the protection of the urban government and where the Beduin had not yet planted their authority. The peasants put themselves under the protection of city notables, who managed their business with the government and protected them as far as possible from its exactions; and in course of time the protectors became virtual landlords. The religious families with a voice in the governor's Diwan were particularly well-placed to perform this function; and they also had an advantage in that the annual auction of tax-farms took place in the religious court and under the supervision of the Qadi, who had to register the results. Thus the town gave to the countryside around it—but at a price—that protection which it could not give itself (2).

(1) See Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, vol. IV, p. 97; Mīkhā'īl Breik, *Tārīkh al-Shām*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā, Harissa, 1930, pp. 9 foll.; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Wulāt Dimashq*, p. 79, Damosens, 1949.

(2) Much insight into the interplay of social forces in the political life of the towns and the surrounding countryside, at a slightly later period, can be obtained from the register of the *majlis* set up by Ibrahim Pasha in Aleppo. The MS. is in the library of the American University of Beirut. Long extracts are printed in A. Rustum, *Al-uṣūl al-'arabiyyah li-tārīkh Sūriyā fī 'ahd Muḥammad 'Alī Bāshā*, vols. III-IV, Beirut, 1934, pp. 76-100, 107-226.

(4)

It was the pressure of these local forces which gave a new form to the relationship between the Ottoman Government and the provinces. All over the Empire, there arose local ruling groups controlling the machinery of local Government, ultimately loyal to the Sultan but possessing a force, a stability and to some degree an autonomy of their own. It was only through the mediation of these groups that the Ottoman Empire was still able to keep some sort of moral and material hold on its subjects.

In Asia Minor and parts of the Balkans, there arose the "Lords of the Valleys", governors who resisted the Porte's attempts to recall them, and made their rule permanent and hereditary. In Syria and Iraq the mountain-valleys had never been in effective Ottoman control; but even in the cities and plains the double challenge of the Janissary threat to order and the Beduin threat to the country-side gave a premium to any ruling group which could master them; by so doing they could win the acquiescence of Istanbul and some support from the local population. Two types of ruling groups appeared: local families—the Azms in Damascus and the Jalilis in Mosul—, and groups of Mamlukes—those founded by Hasan Pasha in Baghdad and Jezzar in Saida. (Of the other Syrian and Iraqi provinces, Tripoli was under the domination either of Damascus or of Saida; Basra and Shahrizor were absorbed into Baghdad; only in Aleppo did no such local group arise. It seemed for a moment indeed as if the Qataraghasi family might do for Aleppo what the Azms had done in Damascus; that they did not, was perhaps due both to the strength of Sharifs and to the reluctance of the Ottoman Government to allow so important a centre of foreign trade and influence to slip out of its direct control).

The two types of ruling groups were distinct in origin, but both owed their power to some combination of mercenary force and local favour. Azms and Jalilis were of local origin, and

won local favour by repressing disorder, giving good administration and patronizing religion and learning. They left in the corporate memory of Damascus and Mosul the image of a Golden Age. The people of Mosul, wrote an Italian missionary, only wanted a Jalili as governor, because only then did they feel free—" non voglioni governo turco assoluto, ma la propria liberta Araba " (1)—; and in Damascus the historian Muradi, himself a member of one of those religious families which served as spokesmen of local opinion, called one of the Azm governors, in simple terms, " the best governor we have had " (2). But they could not have maintained peace and order had they not recruited private mercenary armies; both had their Mamluke officers, and the Azms had infantry from North Africa, and Turkish and Kurdish cavalry. Conversely, the Mamlukes of Baghdad and Saida depended primarily on their own strength: on the mercenary army controlled by a hard core of Georgian slaves purchased and trained in the governor's palace. But at the same time they depended on the support of important elements in the population. In Baghdad, local men were sometimes taken into the élite of officials; the finances were managed by Jewish bankers; the Ulema were treated carefully; the Agha of the Janissaries was used to keep the town in order, and one or other Beduin chief to keep the countryside—first the Shawi family of the Ubeid tribe, then the Shabib of Muntafiq. When the greatest of the Mamlukes, Suleiman Pasha, lay dying, he called together his four sons-in-law and implored them to act together for the preservation of the State. They met together after his death and swore to do so; all four were Georgian freed-men, but there met with them Muhammad Shawi, who undertook to keep the Arabs loyal, and Ahmad Agha of the Janissaries who did the same for the city (3). Jezzar in Saida was less dependent, perhaps because there was no Janissary menace in the towns of his province. He ruled first of all by fear. After his death, his body lay in his room in

(1) Domenico Lanza, *First Voyage*, p. 255 (General Archives of the Order of Preachers, Santa Sabina, Rome, ms. XIII 326).

(2) Murādī, Rome *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 97.

(3) Sarkīs, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

the palace at Saida for twenty hours before anyone dared to enter (1). But he also made some use of local forces. His banker was a Damascene Jew; his deputy in Tripoli was himself a Tripolitanian; and the Mufti of Acre was one of his inner circle of advisers (2).

The essential functions of these groups were to control the Janissaries, keep the Beduin back, supervise the mountain-chiefs, give firm administration—but also to keep their provinces within the Empire. In their own fashion they were loyal to the Empire. They collected and paid the land-tax, and furthered the greater interests of the Sultan on the Persian, Arabian and Egyptian frontiers. That the Sultan was their lord they did not question. In 1813 Suleiman Pasha of Saida was ordered to cut off the head of Ibrahim, a high official in the province of Damascus. He informed Ibrahim of the decision with sorrow, and gave him two days of grace. Then he sent an officer to carry out the sentence:

> "... and Ibrahim submitted and stretched out his neck to be cut, saying, 'The order of the State must be obeyed without question'." (3)

But within the limits set by this obedience of principle, they wanted at much autonomy as they could, over as large an area as possible. The Mamluke State of Baghdad came to include the whole of what is now Iraq, except for a small district around Mosul, and the district of Mardin as well. In Syria, there was a succession of attempts to control the southern half of the country; first by the Azms, then by Dahir, then by Jezzar, who governed Tripoli as well as Saida, was three times Pasha of Damascus, and installed his nominee Beshir as prince of Lebanon. In the end however it was Beshir who was to establish, after Jezzar's death, a wider and more durable influence than any.

(1) Ibrāhīm al-'Awra, *Tārīkh wilāyat Sulaimān Bāshā al-'Ādil*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā, Saida, 1936, p. 18.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 156 foll.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

(5)

Change was striking not only at the balance of political forces, but at the social and intellectual structure on which it rested. Like all forms of government, the Ottoman system rested on a certain distribution of social power and a system of received ideas. Three principles were implicit in its structure: first, the political supremacy of Moslems over Christians; secondly, the existence of an Islamic orthodoxy of which the Sultan was defender; and thirdly, the primacy of religious over ethnic or other loyalties. In the eighteenth century all three pillars were shaken.

In the great age of the Ottomans, the Christians had acquiesced in Ottoman rule, both because there seemed no alternative, and because Ottoman rule offered certain advantages —comparative justice, the advantages of a large and stable trading-area, and, for some Christian groups at least, a share in the governance of the Empire. But the decline in Ottoman strength coincided with an increase in the prosperity and inner strength of certain Christian communities, and the old domination became more difficult to bear or less advantageous. By the end of the seventeenth century Greeks had largely replaced Jews and renegades as the element to whom the Turks looked to do the things they could not do for themselves. The political influence of the Phanar (albeit not so great as it was sometimes thought) was reinforced by the development of Greek commerce and shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean. As Greek merchants became richer they sent their sons to school in Italy, or founded schools for their community, and as education spread the level of culture rose.

The Armenians too derived a new prosperity from two factors: the influence of their bankers *(ṣarrāf)* on the provincial governors and therefore on the administration of the Empire, and their control of the trade-routes leading to Persia and Central Asia, and to some extent of trade with India. Here too a revival of prosperity led to the foundation of schools and

the revival of culture—but in a special form, through the work of the Mekhitarists, an order devoted to the revival of knowledge of Armenian church literature. Their founder, the monk Mekhitar, gave early expression to his belief that " whosoever separates himself from the faith of the church of Rome separates himself also from the teaching of the Armenian Fathers ". In 1700 he began his monastic life in Istanbul, and began also that work of editing and printing the Armenian classics with which his name has always been linked. Forced to leave Istanbul by the persecution of the Orthodox, he placed himself under the protection of the Ambassador of Venice, and after some vicissitudes he and his followers were given by the Venetian Senate the island of San Lazzaro. There, in the quiet lagoom, the monastery where Byron learned Armenian has always been a centre of the intellectual tradition of its nation (1).

Among the Arabic-speaking Christians too a similar movement can be seen. The Christians of Aleppo profited from the great prosperity of the city's trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and later two movements of emigration extended their trading Empire—the first to Livorno, which was becoming the chief centre of trans-shipment in the trade between Europe and the Levant, and where Oriental Christians and Jews installed themselves; the second to Egypt, where Greek Catholics persecuted by the Orthodox in Damascus and Aleppo found an atmosphere less charged with theological odium, and where, after Ali Bey ruined the Jews, Syrians took over the farm of the customs (2). In Lebanon, a rural Christian community was growing in power; enriched by the cultivation of silk, the Maronite peasantry was spreading southwards, and their religious and feudal authorities came to exercise a growing influence on the princely family, until, in the middle of the eighteenth century, some of the Shihabs themselves became Christians; they were followed by others of their family, and by the whole Druze family of Bellama, whose peasantry were mainly Christian.

(1) For the life of Mekhitar, see M. Nurikhan, *Life and Times of Abbot Mechitar*, Venice, 1915.

(2) For the Syrian Christian emigration to Egypt, see the Church documents published in B. Caralli, *Al-Sūriyyun fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1928.

A large section of the Aleppine Christians were Uniates, won to the Roman allegiance by the missions which had been working on a permanent basis since the early seventeenth century—Jesuits, Capucins, Franciscans of Terra Santa, Carmelites and Dominicans. The Maronites too had been Catholic since the time of the Crusades, and the Concordat of 1736 strengthened their relations with Rome. It was through this renewed contact with the Papacy, and in particular through the Oriental Colleges in Rome, that the level of intellectual life rose, first among the clergy and then among the laity. A group of scholars, mainly Maronite, and headed by the learned Assemani, revived the religious and secular learning of the Eastern Uniates. A number of printing presses were established in the course of the eighteenth century: at Aleppo, at Beirut and in Lebanon at Quzhayya and Shweir. Some of these were short-lived, but all helped to spread the new learning among the communities. Towards the end of the century seminaries and village schools began to be set up; the Maronite college at Ain Waraqa was established in 1789, the Greek Catholic at Ain Traz in 1811.

Here again we can see how increased prosperity and higher education resulted in greater political influence. The new educated laity, and some of the clergy as well, entered the service of local governors or princes as clerks, men of business and advisers. Whole families indeed attached themselves to some powerful man, and could share in his power and wealth. Thus the Yazijis for generations were scribes to the princes of Lebanon, the Sabbaghs were advisers and officials of Dahir, the Bahris of Damascus took service with Muhammad Ali of Egypt, and became his closest collaborators, and the four Shidiaq brothers found careers in the service of Beshir and Muhammad Ali.

The political results of these processes did not become clear until the Greek revolt of 1821, the Lebanese troubles of 1841-1861, and the Armenian national movement of the late nineteenth century. But already by 1800 the Empire had moved into a situation radically unstable: the rule of the less developed over the more.

(6)

At the same time there was taking place, inside the Moslem community of the Empire, a change in conceptions which would in the end shake the claim of the Sultan to be the defender of Islamic orthodoxy. The Sultan was not only—rather doubtfully—the claimant to the Caliphate, and—more certainly—the " servant of the two sanctuaries ", guardian of the Holy Places and organizer of the Pilgrimage; he was also the custodian of that doctrinal orthodoxy which had emerged from the great controversies of the formative age of Islam. It rested on a double synthesis: that of Reason and Revelation which had been evolved by Ash'ari and Maturidi, and that of Law and Mysticism which Islam owed to the genius of Ghazali. Patrons alike of the courts where Islamic law was dispensed, the schools where theology and jurisprudence were commented and transmitted, and the brotherhoods where the novice followed the steps of a master of the inner life on his way to Gnosis, the Sultans embodied in themselves a synthesis which seemed to offer a stable basis both for their throne and for the society which they ruled. But the synthesis contained in itself a weakness which was finally to destroy it. Not only did it exclude a whole important stream of Islamic thought, the Hanbali tradition, hostile both to the excesses of theological speculation and the claims of the mystics, and which always found its adherents, particularly in Damascus, the city of Ibn Taimiyya (1); it also contained in itself the seeds of its own dissolution. For Islamic mysticism admitted of two different developments: that which, while accepting the formulations of the theologians and the importance of obedience to the Law, emphasized the importance of meditating on the Qoran, and of inner purity, as alone giving value to external obedience; and that which elaborated a theology of its own to explain and

(1) For some details on the continuity of the Hanbali tradition, see Muḥammad Jamīl al-Shattī, *Rawḍ al-bashar fī a'yān Dimashq fī'l qarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Damascus 1946, and *Tarājim a'yān Dimashq fī niṣf al-qarn al-rābi' 'ashar*, Damascus 1948.

justify its spiritual practices, and one which, if pushed to its conclusion, was incompatible not only with the orthodox theology but with the first affirmations of Islam. To think of finite beings as emanations of the one Being is not the same as to think of them as creatures of a God infinitely above them; to lay stress on the solitary path of the soul towards direct knowledge of God may obscure, if it does not undermine, the importance of the Law and obedience to it.

In the Ottoman centuries, the study of the intellectual sciences almost vanished from the orthodox schools; the tradition of Islamic philosophy almost died out, except in the Shiah schools, and Theology and Law, no longer fertilized by Reason, ceased to grow. But mysticism preserved its strength, and developed in the second direction rather than the first. When Sultan Selim conquered Damascus, one of his first acts was to order that a splendid mausoleum be built over the tomb of Ibn Arabi (1); and the writings of Ibn Arabi formed the Ottoman mind no less than those of Ash'ari or Ibrahim al-Halabi. His ideas were given a new development by Abdul-Ghani an-Nabulsi, of Palestinian origin but living and teaching mainly in Damascus, and who dominated—through his pupils and theirs—the intellectual life of Syria, Iraq and Egypt in the eighteenth century. Of his pupils, the most influential was Mustafa al-Bekri al-Siddiqi, whose influence was felt far beyond Syria—in Baghdad, at the Azhar, and in the Hejaz, where it gave rise to a new order, the Sammaniya, from which in turn sprang two of the great orders of the nineteenth century, the Mahdiya in the Sudan and the Tijaniya of North Africa (2).

At the time when this mystical theology had thus reached its full development and the height of its influence, it was challenged by a revival of the submerged current of Hanbali thought, and one which expressed itself simultaneously, and by a combination which was more than accidental, in doctrine and in political action. Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab, born in

(1) H. Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas*, Damascus 1952, p. 149.

(2) For information about as-Siddiqi, see W. Khālidī, *Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī's Journey to Jerusalem* (B. Litt. thesis, Oxford 1952).

Nejd of a line of scholars, imbibed the orthodoxy of his time, and felt the influence of mysticism. But after the normal journeys of a Moslem scholar in search of learning, he finally accepted the Hanbali interpretation. He recognized no knowledge of God not based on the Qoran, the *ḥadīth* and the practice of the first three centuries. He rejected alike the claims of the mystics to an esoteric knowledge of God, and the speculations of individual thinkers. He admitted no object of worship except God, and no intercessor standing between God and the believer—not even the Prophet. These were not original ideas, but no one since Ibn Taimiyya had succeeded in making them the motive-force of a great political movement. In 1745 he entered into alliance with a small chief of central Arabia, Muhammad ibn Saud, and in many years of close partnership they built up a State which included almost the whole of Arabia. Here they tried to replace the immemorial customary law of the Jahiliyya by Islamic law, and the limited natural solidarity of the tribe by the inclusive solidarity of Islam. They created religious courts even in country districts where custom had always been king, prevented tribal raids, suppressed the blood-feud, levied only the Qoranic taxes, and destroyed the shrines of saints.

The Wahhabis did not recognize the authority of the Sultan, in whom they saw not only the unsuccessful defender of Dar al-Islam against the enemies on its frontier, but also the upholder of those innovations which were a more deadly enemy still. For twenty years their armies threatened the borders of Syria and Iraq; they sacked Kerbela, and threatened Nejef, Basra and Damascus. Even in Istanbul, the British Minister feared that as " seceders from the rights of the Modammedan sect " they might join with " their brethren in principle from Paris " (1). Their intellectual challenge penetrated the Moslem conscience wherever men thought about Islam. Even within the ranks of the mystics, the example of the Wahhabis made its mark. This indeed may have been the reason for the spread of Naqshibandism from India to Kurdistan, and thence

(1) Public Record Office : F. O. 78/20.

to Baghdad and Damascus, and the influence of its great apostle, Sheikh Khalid. For Sheikh Khalid, while he accepted the first principle of mystical thought, the idea of a knowledge of God only revealed at the end of a long way of preparation, also emphasised the importance of holding fast to the traditions of Islam. The seeker after knowledge of God should imitate the devotion of the Prophet and his Companions, his inner and his outer worship should both conform strictly to the *sunna*, and he should avoid all innovations. Sheikh Khalid's later years were spent in Damascus, where the Naqshibandi way had already been brought by the Muradi family. There he acquired great influence, and was noted for his strictness in regard to one aspect at least of the Iaw. In 1808, when the Wahhabis were threatening to advance on Damascus, and the Governor, his fellow-Kurd Yusuf Genj Pasha, was preparing to defend it, Sheikh Khalid persuaded him to take a leaf from the Wahhabi book, and apply strictly the sumptuary laws against Christians, and even to attempt conversion by force. It was only the protests of the orthodox Ulema of the city which overbore the weight of this advice (1).

Was is perhaps to combat the formulations of Abdul-Wahhab too that Sayyid Murtada al-Zabidi wrote his commentary on Ghazali's *Iḥyā'*, and so brought back to the centre of the Moslem consciousness a doctrine more balanced than that of Ibn Taimiyya, less dangerous than that of Ibn Arabi ? He thus built the only bridge which could have prevented a profound split in the Islamic mind. For the conflict of Wahhabism and Ibn Arabi, he substituted the tension, more easily bearable, between Wahhabism and Ghazali, a tension which lies beneath the whole modern movement of Islamic thought. But in a sense Wahhabism had triumphed. Although the first Wahhabi State was destroyed by the army of Muhammad Ali, Abdul-

(1) For the life of Sheikh Khalid, see 'Othmān ibn Sanad, *Aṣfa'l-Mawarid min silsāl aḥwāl Khālid*, Cairo A. H. 1301. There is some mention of him in C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, vol. I, London, 1836, pp. 140-1, 320-1. For his influence on Yusuf Genj Pasha, see 'Awra, *op. cit.*, p. 94, and Ḥaidar Aḥmad Shihāb, *Lubnān fī 'ahd al-umarā' al-Shihābiyyīn*, ed. A. Rustum and F. E. Bustānī, volume III, Beirut, 1933, pp. 524 foll.

Wahhab had destroyed the Sultan's claim to be the unchallenged representative of the living and central tradition of Islam; and although the revival of interest in Ghazali gave a new lease of life to the more moderate form of mysticism, the mystical theology of Ibn Arabi gradually lost its hold; the Ottoman synthesis of Law, Theology and mysticism began to dissolve, and slowly the brotherhoods ceased to play their vital part in the life of the community. Were Nabulsi to return to earth he might well say, " We are all Wahhabis now ".

(7)

At the same time as the orthodox synthesis was dissolving, there were at work forces which would in the end shake if not destroy something even more fundamental: the principle, accepted ever since the Roman Empire became Christian, that acquired or inherited religious belief was the most important form of social determination.

Although, compared with difference of faith, all other differences were thought of as secondary, in practice they had not dropped out of sight. In Islam, the strict doctrine of Ibn Taimiyya, that a ruler who gave offices to those of the same race as himself was as bad as one who sold offices for money, had never wholly won the day, and the three great ethnic groups which between them had borne the burden of Islamic history had never been wholly merged into the unity of the *umma.* There were doctrinal, not simply, historical, reasons why this was so. The Arabs were the people of the Prophet, and the Qoran in its own twice-repeated phrase was an "Arabic Qoran "; it was natural that they should have a distinct place within the community. Similarly, the distinction of Turk and Persian was given a new depth by difference of doctrine. Both the Ottoman and the Safavi States were touched in their youth by mystical heterodoxy, but as they grew the one became self-consciously Sunni, while the other revived the Shiah doctrine, and it was this which gave point to their wars, and force and form to the growth of national consciousness. Between Turks

and Arabs there was not, it is true, a distinction of belief, but one of function within the community. These divisions were given expression, in the Middle Ages, in the controversy of the Shu'ubiya, echoes of which could still be heard in the eighteenth century. Mustafa al-Bekri al-Siddiqi, for example, wrote a work in which he maintained that reverence for the Prophet and his family should be extended to the Arabs as a whole. The choice of Muhammad by God must also in a sense have been a choice of the Arabs, he maintained; and he quoted a tradition of the Prophet, that Moslems must love the Arabs for three reasons, " because I am Arab, and the Qoran is Arabic, and the language of the people of Paradise is Arabic " (1).

At this time certain new factors brought this persistent sense of ethnic or racial difference to the surface. The long struggles of Shah and Sultan increased the difference of Persian and Ottoman; and the difference of Arab and Turk was made more conscious by three factors. The re-entry of free-born Turks into the machinery of Ottoman Government meant that every movement of opposition to the Government or secession from the Empire took on an anti-Turkish colouring. The crystallization of local opinion and opposition around the great provincial families of Ulema gave an Arab colouring to them, since it was in these families that the knowledge of Arabic and the consciousness of Arab origin were particularly strong; and the advantages of belonging to the *Ashrāf* gave them an added interest in their Arab descent. It was not an accident that, when Arab nationalism arose in a later age, its leaders were drawn largely from these same religious families whose scholars and divines already appear in the pages of Muradi—Khalidi and Husseini, Bekri and Atasi, Mudarris and Jabiri, Umari and Suweidi. Moreover, the Wahhabi movement not only led to the foundation of a State which happened to be Arab, but also, by reviving memories of the early Arab Moslem centuries, revived memories of Arab greatness and the Arab contribution to Islam.

(1) Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī al-Siddīqī, *Al-'Urf al- mu'dhin bi'l- ṭarab bain al-'Ajam wa'l-'Arab* (ms., collection of Mr. W. Khālidī).

In the Christian communities also national consciousness had never died out. Among the Armenians, the identity of religious and ethnic community was indeed complete, until the Armenian Catholics became a separate community " de facto " in the eighteenth century. In the Orthodox community, the Greeks enjoyed a special position analogous to that of the Arabs in the Moslem *Umma.* Greek was the main language of the liturgy; the Oecumenical Patriarch, who had civil authority over all the Orthodox of the Empire, was a Greek, and memories of the glorious Orthodox past were at the same time memories of the Greek Empire. Here too national consciousness increased in the eighteenth century. The growth of Greek prosperity, the influence of the Phanar and the civil authority of the Patriarch between them led to the extension of Greek influence throughout the Church. One by one the other Patriarchates were extinguished or absorbed. The Balkan Patriarchates ceased to exist, the Patriarch of Antioch was usually a Greek although his flock were Arabs, those of Alexandria and Jerusalem were not only Greeks but court officials of the Oecumenical Patriarch, and normally resident in Istanbul. Thus opposition to the hierarchy inside the Church took on an anti-Greek colouring, and in Syria it sometimes had an Arab colouring. The historian of the Church of Antioch, Mikhail Breik, thinks it worth mentioning when the Patriarch is an Arab (1), and records too that when the Bishop of Saida was suggested as Patriarch, the other Bishops protested that they did not want an Arab set over them (2).

In general, this was the period when the Christians living in the Arabic-speaking countries were becoming consciously Arab. Those Christians who had not spoken Arabic before the Islamic conquest had now adopted it, except for a few pockets of Syriac and Aramaic, and their liturgies too had become mainly Arabic. The new educated priesthood emerging from the Colleges of Rome and the seminaries of Lebanon needed a knowledge of Arabic; European Universities wanted professors of Arabic;

(1) M. Breik, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 112.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 76.

besides, the revival of culture made men more interested in their own past. For all these reasons, one aspect of the Christian revival of culture was a spread of Arabic knowledge among them. Christian priests set themselves to learn Arabic from the only men who could teach it to them, the Moslem specialists of the sciences of language. Among them was Germanos Farhat, who studied with Sheikh Ibrahim an-Nahwi in Aleppo. In that moment modern Arabic literature was born. For Germanos Farhat, who later became Maronite Archbishop of Aleppo, was not only a grammarian but a poet, who used the classical Arabic prosody and the conventions of *madḥ* in praise of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the Catholic Church and the Maronite nation. Around him in Aleppo there grew up a group of poets, and it was his disciple Niqola Sayigh, prior of Deir al-Mukhallis, who transmitted the flame of poetry to Christian Lebanon. It is true, the religious inspiration of Farhat and Sayigh did not give its content to later Lebanese poetry; but the fusion of an old style with a new matter was the beginning of the modern movement.

It was not only a poetical movement which sprang from this beginning. Christian writers began to study their own past, and the past of the Arabs. The Patriarch Duwaihi wrote the history of the Maronites, and Assemani the annals of more than one eastern Church; and a line of monks and scribes chronicled the events of Lebanon, and provided the matter for the classical works of Haidar Shihab and Tannous Shidiaq. In this historical awakening we can see the germs of a national consciousness, both Lebanese and Arab. Moreover, the study of language and the writing of poetry provided a common ground on which Moslems and Christians could meet. The literary correspondence of Mikahil Bahri and Butrus Karameh with their Moslem contemporaries is still extant (1). Niqola Turk wrote poems in praise of Moslem scholars, and they praised his poems in return (2); and even as far away as Iraq,

(1) L. Shaykhō, *al-ādāb al-'arabiyya fi'l-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*, volume I, Beirut, 1908, pp. 21, 28, 54.

(2) Niqōlā Turk, *Dīwān*, ed. F. E. Bustānī, Beirut, 1949, p. 25.

Abdul-Baqi Farouki heard of the fame of Nasif al-Yaziji and wrote in eulogy of him (1).

Although this was not yet clear, the movement was to have important political effects. In the end it would raise the question, whether it was possible to be an Arab without being a Moslem. A similar question had already been raised among the Armenians. For Mekhitar and his followers were at the same time devoted adherents of the Papal authority and faithful sons of the Armenian nation. Their movement implied that it was possible to be an Armenian without being a member of the Gregorian Church, and to be Catholic without ceasing to be Armenian. Opposition came from two sides: from the Armenian Orthodox hierarchy, and from the Latinizing missionaries trained in the College of Propaganda. But the stand made by the Mekhitarists helped to make clear an essential distinction.

(8)

The movements so far dealt with were generated out of the body of the Ottoman community. It is possible to understand them without much reference to the great changes then beginning in the outside world. But the outer world lay all around. By its geographical position, no less than by virtue of its Islamic basis, the Ottoman Empire could never have been like the Chinese, isolated behind the ramparts of distance, pride and incomprehension. From the moment when the Ottoman State emerged from the interior of Asia Minor into the Balkans, and even before Constantinople became Istanbul, it had been part of the States-system of the western world. Despite the fear it inspired in Europe and the religious colouring of its wars, its relationship with the States of Europe cannot be understood simply in Crusading terms, as sheer difference and unending opposition. Its pursuit of its interests brought it as much into alliance as into enmity with the States of Christendom. The Sultan was the ally of Byzantium before he destroyed it;

(1) Nāṣīf al-Yaziji, *Fākihat al-Nudamā'*, Beirut, n. d., pp. 3, 29, 56.

later he allied with France against Austria, and the enemies of France tried to link up with the Persian enemy of the Sultan.

When States are friendly, goods and ideas move freely between them. But it was a sign of the vast power possessed by the Ottomans, no less than of the profound differences between the culture of Islam and that of Christendom, that they were in a position to control the flow of goods and of ideas. Ottoman merchants did not go to Europe; trade with Europe was carried on by little isolated colonies of European merchants, living in the trading centres of the Levant under the protection of the Sultan, made formal in the Capitulations. The flow of ideas was no less controlled. In the fifteenth century, Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror was interested in the past and in the products of the human mind. There were Greek philosophers and Italian men of letters at his court, he is said to have had Polybius and Ptolemy translated for him, and in having Bellini paint his portrait he began a tradition which later Sultans were to carry on in secret. In the sixteenth century, the European inventions in firearms, and the discovery of America, were known early in Istanbul. But later the interest ceased, whether because of the control of education by the orthodox schools, and their neglect of the rational sciences, or because the Ottoman Empire had reached that climax of its power when every change would be, or seemed to be, a change for the worse, and the principle of inertia began to operate. Hebrew, Greek and Armenian printing-presses existed in Istanbul by 1550, but the idea of a Turkish press did not obtain the support of the Sultan until 1729. The first mention of Copernicus in Turkish writing, and that only a fleeting one, occurs at the end of the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth Turkish medical writers were just beginning to be aware of European medical discoveries of the sixteenth (1).

Sometime between the middle of the seventeenth century and that of the eighteenth, the balance of power between Europe and Turkey shifted, and with it there changed the whole relationship between the Ottoman community and the West.

(1) A. Adnan, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris, 1939.

It was no longer possible for the Sultan to control the relationship. The pressure of European power, on the frontiers and at Istanbul, was one of the factors which weakened the central authority. It was a sign of the times that the formal ill-treatment of Ambassadors, at their audiences of the Sultan on arrival and departure, gradually died out. The British Ambassador reported of his experience in 1794, that

> " ... instead of that sullen and contemptuous dignity with which former Sultans are said to have given audience to the ministers of crowned heads, I met with a reception from the reigning prince, as generous and attentive as I could have expected from any other sovereign in Europe " (1).

But except for a few experiments, in the 1730's and again in the 1770's, the Turk had not yet begun to learn the secrets of European might. The encroachments of Europe brought to the surface that sense of decline which is implicit in the Moslem view of history. Thus in the 1770's, after defeat by Russia, the idea that the Empire was doomed, and Dar al-Islam would be swallowed up by the Muscovites, spread throughout the Empire. The Italian Lanza, and the Moslem Yasin al-Umari, both heard it in Mosul at that time. This sense of decay gave force to the judgment passed on the Empire by Wahhabism, and weakened the sense of loyalty. The biographer of Jezzar records that, when the Sultan issued proclamations to the Syrian people denouncing Bonaparte's invasion of Palestine, no-one heeded them, because of the weakness of the Ottomans and fear of the Franks (2).

European trade with the Empire also underwent a change. The Venetians, Dutch and Portuguese, who had played so large a part in earlier days, had now lost their importance, and although Italian remained the *lingua franca* of the Levant, and was not replaced by French until the middle of the nineteenth century, England and France by now had begun their two hundred years' career as representatives of the West in the

(1) Public Record Office: F. O. 78/15.

(2) Ḥaidar Aḥmad Shihāb, *Tārīkh Aḥmad Bāshā al-Jazzar*, ed. A. Shiblī and I. A. Khalīfa, Beirut, 1955, p. 129.

Near East. Possession of rival power in India, the Red Sea and the Fertile Crescent offered them if not the safest, certainly the quickest routes between India and Europe. The old British and French communities in Syria, the newer ones in Mesopotamia, were to play an essential role in the conflicts of British and French Imperial power, above all in the transmission of news. As centres of industry and trade too they were concerned with the local markets, and here also there was a change. The import of luxury goods—fine cloths of England and Provence and Bohemian glass—still continued, but something new was now added to it, a trade in the staples, no longer in the luxuries alone, of life. " Colonial goods "—the sugar, coffee and indigo of the West Indies—gradually replaced local products in the Near Eastern market; by 1800 Syria was drinking West Indian coffee, not Southern Arabian (1). The time was not far distant when the machine-made cottons of Manchester would enter the market, replace other local products, and in the process bring about a profound change in social and economic power.

The growth of trade had a double influence on social development. First, around the foreign colonies there gathered a Levantine bourgeoisie of brokers and employees, who had learned the technique of international trade and finance. In the late eighteenth century, when the European merchants began to desert the Levant—because of the insecurity of life, the wars of Persia and Turkey, the exactions of the Egyptian Mamlukes, the attractions of the Cape Route and the greater profits to be derived from investment in other parts of the world—it was these Levantine auxiliaries who largely took their place, and sometimes even took over the names and trading connections of the European houses, because of the lower rate of duty which European merchants paid. The rise of the ports of Livorno and Trieste, to dispute the monopoly of Marseilles, where less favourable terms were given to foreign than to French shippers, gave them a chance to extend their connections and take an initiative. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century they

(1) J. L. Burkhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829, p. 17.

were to instal their own agents in the centres of manufacture, and found the Greek, Syrian and Armenian communities in England. Moreover, the disturbances caused by the American War of Independence and the Revolutionary Wars gave Greek ships an opportunity to acquire the local sea-trade of the eastern Mediterranean, and to indulge in discreet piracy as well.

It was to protect trade and merchants first of all that consuls were appointed, but they came to serve another purpose. For the Christian and Jewish population of the commercial cities the embassies and consulates fulfilled a function similar to that of *Ashrāf* and Janissaries among the Moslems. There were two ways in which this could be so. First, similarity of religion made it possible for the European Powers to put forward claims to protect those of the same religion as themselves, and the Capitulations gave some ground to these claims. The French Capitulations gave them the right to protect Latin priests and chapels, and Europeans of Latin Catholic faith, and from the middle of the seventeenth century they began to extend this right to Eastern Catholics, and to a lesser extent to Eastern Christians as a whole. Their Governments supported the missions which were building up and educating the Uniate communities, although some more than others; the Franciscans of Terra Santa looked more to Spain than to France. In the long struggle of Catholics and non-Catholics for possession of Churches and bishoprics, French influence was always on the side of the Catholics; as also it was when, pushed by the Orthodox, the Ottoman authorities persecuted the Catholics. It was the French Ambassador who arranged that the persecuting Armenian Patriarch, Avedik, should be kidnapped and smuggled over to France, where he spent the rest of his life in the Bastille, and may—or may not—have been the Man in the Iron Mask (1). Such intervention was most effective when the relations of France with the Ottoman Government were best; when they were bad, her proteges might well be regarded as traitors.

(1) A. Rabbath, *Documents Inédits*, vol. II, Paris, 1910, p. 548.

With one Uniate community the relations of France took on an explicitly political character. More perhaps than any other community in the Empire, the Maronites of Lebanon had never recognized the Ottoman conquest. Alone of the Christian Patriarchs of the Empire, the Maronite Patriarch did not seek or accept investiture by the Sultan, and from an early time he and his flock looked for rescue to Catholic Europe. In 1527 the Patriarch of the time wrote a letter to the Emperor Charles V, pledging the support of the whole Maronite community if he should come to Syria; and the bishops sent a similar letter, saying that in all Syria not only the Christians but also the Arabs all called him to their aid against their Turkish oppressors, and against the Jews, the auxiliaries of the Turks (1). In the time of Fakhr al-Din there were relations between Lebanon and the princes of Italy, and by the middle of the seventeenth century the close connection with France, which was to last three hundred years, had been formed. The Patriarch maintained a delegate at the French Court, and for a hundred years a member of the noble family of Khazin was French consul in Beirut (2).

If the French were the most successful of the Powers in carrying out such a policy, others also tried. The Austrians sometimes protected the Greek Catholics. The British Government cultivated relations with the Orthodox in the seventeenth century, and at moments in the eighteenth extended protection even to Catholic missions—the Dominicans of Mosul (3), the Franciscans of Jerusalem. After 1774 Russia put forward a claim to protect the Orthodox going beyond what the French claimed in relation to the Catholics.

There was another way in which foreign embassies and consulates could build a group of clients. The Capitulations allowed to each diplomatic establishment a limited number of interpreters and servants drawn from the subjects of the Empire, and provided with " berats " and " firmans " giving them

(1) A. Rabbath, *op. cit.*, pp. 616, 620-1.

(2) For the Khazin consuls, see R. Ristelhueber, *Les Traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris, 1926, pp. 143 foll.

(3) Lanza, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 foll.

certain privileges and the right to some degree of protection. As time went on, consuls and ambassadors began to increase the number of their dependents. Some did it to increase their revenues, others to build up groups of clients. For their part, Christians and Jews valued the " berat " not only for the protection it conferred but for the lower rate of customs-duties levied on Franks and their protégés, and for exemption from the poll-tax. Matters came to a head towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Venetian Ambassador was discovered to have issued 460 certificates in a short time (1), and after 1774 the Russian Ambassador began giving protection to Greeks on a large scale. It was no doubt this which led Ottoman Governments to take steps, which were however only partly successful, to limit the grant of " berats " to *bona fide* interpreters alone.

Some Christians and Jews could hope to go further, and themselves become Vice-Consuls or consuls, for only the larger Governments appointed professional consuls of their own nation, and even they only did so in the larger centres. For a Christian or Jewish merchant, to be consul of a European State was a valuable possession, to be carefully preserved and handed down to his children. His deeper loyalties were not always engaged; the Picciotto family of Aleppo, for example, held at one time six out of ten consulships in the city (2).

Some of the consuls had a wider influence still, and played their part in that struggle for local influence which had been precipitated by the decline of the central authority. Contenders for local power sometimes used them to transmit messages, by way of their Ambassadors, to the central government. Moreover, being themselves uncommitted to local parties, they were sometimes the only channel which could be used when the breach had gone too far. It was the consuls who made peace between the people of Aleppo and their Pasha, after the revolt of 1819 (3) ; and it was the British Ambassador who interceded

(1) Public Record Office, F. O. 78/3.
(2) Public Record Office, F. O. 78/380.
(3) B. Aroutin, *Ahamm Ḥawādith Ḥalab*, ed. B. Caralli, Cairo, n. d., p. 51.

with the Imperial Government in favour of the Muntafiq, after the latter had fallen into disgrace by occupying Basra (1).

(9)

Thus we have seen that in the eighteenth century the increased influence of the West, in commercial as well as political life, as also in the minds of men, entered as a factor into certain developments already generated from within the Ottoman community. In the nineteenth this process was to go further, and to push these movements in new directions. The increasing pressure of the Great Powers on the frontiers was to stimulate the Sultan to acquire, under European tutelage, the secret of European might; and this new military power made it possible for him to reverse the two hundred years' process of disintegration, and re-establish control over the provinces and the autonomies. The intervention of Europe, the growth of trade and the commercial middle-class, the spread of mission-schools and, partly through them, of European ideas, were to carry further the growth of Christian power, and also provide it with a new method of political expression: the idea of ethnic nationalism which, winning its first success when the Greeks became independent, was to spread by " chain-reaction " from one Christian people to another, and then to the Moslem peoples of the Empire, and was in the end—once the unifying factor of the Sultan's power was removed—to dissolve the Empire. It was the combination of these two factors—the attempt of the Sultan to reconquer his empire, and the spread of nationalism on an ethnic rather than a territorial basis—which was to cause the shattering explosions from which the Near East has not recovered: the violent break-up of the old " natural " communities, based on a symbiosis of religious and racial groups—Kurds and Assyrians in the 1840's, Druzes and Maronites in 1860, Armenians and Turks in the 1890's, Greeks and Turks in the 1920's, Arabs and Jews in the 1940's. In another sphere,

(1) Public Record Office : F. O. 78/8 and 78/10.

the new ideas of scientific, liberal Europe of the nineteenth century were to give the death-blow to the mystical theology of Islam, and then to be blended by the genius of Muhammed Abdu with the theology of the schools, to form the strongest line of defence for modern Islam against indifference on the one hand and a new Wahhabism on the other.

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ISLAM IN NORTHERN NIGERIA*

In contrast with the wealth of information available on all aspects of Islam in French West Africa (1), little has been known so far of the part played by their religion in the life of the most numerous group of Muslims in that neighbourhood, the Muslims of Northern Nigeria, who comprise two thirds of its more than 15 millions of inhabitants. Scattered items of information can be found in various works on the anthropology, the administration and so on of Northern Nigeria (2), but I do not know of a single publication that treats of Islam in Northern Nigeria as such (3). When I visited the region under the auspices of the Colonial Office, between February and April of 1950, in order to report on the position of Muhammadan law

* This paper is based on lectures given at the University of Madrid on 29th March, and at the Sorbonne on 3rd May, 1957.

(1) Digest of information and elements of a bibliography in L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 4th ed. (1954), Paris, 1955, 303-340 ; A. Gouilly, *L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, Paris, 1952 ; *L'Islam en Afrique noire française*, La Documentation Française, Notes et Études Documentaires, No. 1152, Paris, 1949 (Série France d'Outre-Mer, LIV). Of the numerous regional studies by P. Marty, his monograph on *L'Islam et les tribus dans la Colonie du Niger (ex-Zinder)*, in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1930, 333-432, 1931, 139-240, touches the subject of this paper most closely.

(2) E.g. C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, 2 vols., London, 1925 ; M. Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, London, 1937 ; S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium*, London, 1942 ; C. D. Forde and R. Scott, *The Native Economies of Nigeria*, London, 1946.

(3) The monograph of J. Greenberg, *The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion*, New York (1946), (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, X), is only incidentally concerned with Islam as such (pp. 1-11: Contacts of Kano with Mohammedan culture; pp. 64-68: The Malams and the 'Ískókí cult among Moslem Hausa), and the work of Nadel, *Nupe Religion*, London, 1954, concentrates on the indigenous form of worship and treats Islam in Nupe as an " intrusion " (pp. 232-258: Islam in Nupe).

in Northern Nigeria, I could not fail to be struck by the remarkable features of Islam there, and the present paper contains a shortened account of my observations, excluding the technical problems of the administration of justice and Islamic religious architecture, subjects on which I venture to refer to my previous publications (1).

I need not go here into the history of Islam in West Africa, and in particular what is now Northern Nigeria, during the middle ages (2). The most important more recent event, which has been decisive in determining the special character of Islam in Northern Nigeria, is the conquest of the greater part of the region by the Fulanis under 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio (ibn Fūdī) at the beginning of the 19th century (3). This led to the superimposition, by the new ruling class, of a particularly strict and puritanical form of Islam on the less uncompromising standards of an easy-going and not yet completely islamicized population, not to mention straightforward pagans. The contrast between extreme strictness on one side, and considerable laxity on the other, forms indeed a characteristic feature of Islam in Northern Nigeria today. In order to justify their *jihād*, 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio and his adherents pretended that

(1) *La justice en Nigéria du Nord et le droit musulman*, in « Revue Algérienne, Tunisienne et Marocaine de Législation et de Jurisprudence », year 67, Algiers, 1951, part I, 37-43; *L'administration de la justice musulmane en Afrique Occidentale française et britannique*, « Symposium Intercolonial 1952 », Bordeaux (1954), 82-89. (On the whole subject, see now *Report of the Native Courts (Northern Provinces) Commission of Inquiry*, 3 parts, Government Printer Nigeria, Lagos, 1952-1953, and J. N. D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa*, London, 1954, 171-224.) — *Sur la diffusion des formes d'architecture religieuse musulmane à travers le Sahara*, in « Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches sahariennes », XI, Algiers, 1954, 11-27.

(2) Cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 346 f.; Greenberg, *loc. cit.*; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 3rd ed. (reprint of the 2rd ed. of 1913), London, 1935, 317-320. The earliest Islamic inscriptions, studied by J. Sauvaget in « Revue des Études Islamiques », 1948, 1-12, and in « Al-Andalus », XIV, 1949, 123-141, deserve a special mention.

(3) Sources: (1) 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, a half-brother of 'Uthmān, *Tazyīn al-waraqāt*; analysed and partly edited and translated by A. Brass, in « Der Islam », X, 1920, 1-73; (2) Muḥammad Bello, a son of 'Uthmān, *al-Infāq al-maysūr*, ed. C. E. J. Whitting, etc., London, 1951; paraphrased and partly translated by E. J. Arnett, *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, Kano, 1922; (3) the so-called Hausa Chronicle, edited and translated by A. Mischlich, with an introduction by J. Lippert, in M. S. O. S. VI/3, 1903, 137-242.

most of their neighbours, nominally Muslims, were not only unbelievers but apostates from Islam (1); and as the official spokesmen of Islam in Northern Nigeria are still to a considerable extent recruited from the Fulani ruling class or have at least undergone their influence, the idea is prevalent that before 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio there existed no Islam, but only paganism, in the country. This idea could take root because the Fulanis destroyed most of the Islamic monuments, as they succeded in destroying the whole of the literature, of their predecessors, the Hausa states (2). The Fulanis did not succeed in conquering the state of Bornu, and the rulers of Bornu *(shehu = shaykh)*, descendants of Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī, have always considered themselves the equals of the Fulani sultans; nevertheless, a rigorist member of the Council of the Shehu did not hesitate to call the Sultan of Sokoto the spiritual head of all Muslims in Northern Nigeria. The warlike actions of the Fulanis were usually preceded and prepared by peaceful infiltration, and this last method alone succeeded in introducing Islam into Ilorin, in Yoruba country. According to the scholars of Ilorin, the first propagandist of Islam there was *shaykh* 'Abd al-'Aẓīm, a pupil and emissary of 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio. Before his time, there had been very few Muslims in Ilorin; they had no mosque but prayed in their houses. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm built himself a round mud hut and a small mosque, which have both been piously preserved. Between them stands a big tree which, it is asserted, grew out

(1) Cf. W. Björkman, *Zwei Hamburger arabische Handschriften über den Islam im Sudan*, in « Folia Ethno-Glossica », III, Hamburg, 1927 (Henschel and Müller, publishers), 18-32, an analysis of Muḥammad Bello's *Miftāḥ al-sadād* and *Uṣūl al-siyāsa*, with a valuable annotation; this little-known paper must be added to the accounts of the literary production of 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio and his followers given by G. Vajda, in « Journal de la Société des Africanistes », XX, 1950, 229-238, and by W. E. N. Kensdale, in J. R. A. S., 1955, 162-168, 1956, 78-80. For a summary of the Fulani claims, see Meek, *op. cit.*, I, 99 f.

(2) One of the few existing pre-Fulani monuments, the disused minaret at Maigana, Soba District, Zaria Emirate (cf. my paper *Sur la diffusion...*, fig. 2), had connected with it the superstition that any ruler who looked on it would die, and the emirs of Zaria, before the present enlightened ruler, avoided passing within sight of it, or within sight of a rock in its neighbourhood. (Communication of L. C. Giles.)

of a staff of his which he planted there. Other emissaries followed, conversions were made, and the pagans, who were becoming concerned about their way of life, were manœuvred into such a position that they had to cede part of the town to the Muslims. This 'Abd al-'Aẓīm became the first Fulani emir of Ilorin, and the tradition concerning his subsequent wars with the pagans of Nupe has been summarized by Nadel (1). All this does not imply that there is now any feeling of discontent with the rule of the Fulani emirs; on the contrary, I noticed remarkable popular enthusiasm towards them. In common with other religious movements of reform, that of the Fulanis had a distinctive slogan; theirs was *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh al-'alī al-'aẓīm.* These words occur on the red flag of the Etsu of Bida, and the dark blue flag of the Emir of Kano used formerly to have the inscription *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā billāh wa-ufawwiḍu amrī ilā 'llāh;* at present it bears the name of the emir, thus in 1950 : *Amīr Kanō 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās ḥifẓ Allāh ẓill Allāh.* The white flag of the Sultan of Sokoto shows, in red, the words *Amīr al-Mu'minīn.* The Emir of Ilorin uses the Union Jack.

The Fulani ruling class has monopolized until today not only political leadership, but to a great extent religious and judicial appointments as well. In addition, these appointments were, not in theory but in fact, hereditary in the normal course of events, and it was rare that a member of an outside family could become a cadi on the strength of his learning alone. These conditions are, however, changing, thanks to the teaching given at Kano Law School, where future cadis are being trained in Islamic law. The old-fashioned attitude of the Fulani conquerors is well exemplified by the attitude of the chief cadi of a Muslim settlement in the midst of a solidly pagan region; these pagans had never been conquered by the Fulanis, and had never formed part of a Muhammadan emirate. It so happened that for reasons of administrative convenience the tribunal of this cadi was the only statutory tribunal in the

(1) *A Black Byzantium*, 78 f. Nadel's Mallam Alimi is identical with 'Abd al-'Aẓīm. The letter *ẓ* is pronounced as an (emphatic) *l* in Northern Nigeria.

town and the district, the cadi sitting with pagan assessors when he tried pagan cases. Now the pagans whose leader, incidentally, was a Christian, asked for the establishment of so-called " native courts " all over the district, which would have transformed the tribunal of the chief cadi and his assessors into a so-called " mixed court ". The District Officer called a meeting in order to discuss the question with the interested parties, and the cadi appeared girt with his ceremonial sword, and made a statement in which he opposed all change. " We have conquered you with the sword ", he said to the pagans; that was his last word, and if it were not accepted, he would appeal to the District Officer, the Resident, the Governor, and the British Government. There the matter rested at the time of my visit. It is interesting to notice that the cadi, who had been appointed by the British administration, felt he owed allegiance to an emir who had never ruled over the district. There is another side to the picture, however. The pagans in the northern part of the Cameroon mountains, in the district of Gwoza, had always kept their independence, too, but for reasons of administrative convenience they were attached to the emirate of Dikwa in the Bornu province, the ruler of which belongs to the family of the Shehu of Bornu. The emir of Dikwa intervenes little in the affairs of this remote region. The population of the little township of Gwoza is in its greater part Muslim, of very mixed origins, that of the mountains pagan, and that of the bush partly pagan and partly superficially Islamicized. There are two pagan courts in the district, one in Gwoza itself, where it sits under a big tree. There is also a cadi in Gwoza, who administers justice among the Muslims and between Muslims and pagans; he is a Fulani (there are a number of Fulanis in the neighbourhood) and comes from a family which has long been used to administer justice in pagan districts. The district head, too, is a Muslim and comes from a family experienced in the administration of pagans; his father, who died on the pilgrimage, had gained the confidence and respect of the mountaineers to such a degree that he could safely travel among them alone.

The superficially islamicized Muslims of Gwoza and its

district have kept a great many pre-Islamic customs, even with regard to marriage. If the cadi gives a decision under Muhammadan law on rights of property, for instance, a decision which on the simple issues involved would in most cases appear to be obviously fair and just, the parties are content to submit to it; but if he were to give a decision contrary to their customs concerning marriage, it would be disregarded. This leads to a curious reversal, under special conditions, of the spheres in which Muhammadan law is followed or not followed in practice in most Islamic countries. It often happens, for instance, that a pagan woman marries a Muslim, is thereupon disowned by her family, then becomes a widow or divorced, and wants to marry again, but this time a pagan; these cases are never brought before the cadi but usually thrashed out by the two families concerned, perhaps with the unofficial help of the District Officer. There is still a considerable amount of customary arbitration and imposition of fines by village headmen going on in the district; this is technically illegal and the District Officers try to suppress it; people also often apply to the District Officer for arbitration, but he has no choice but to refer them to their proper tribunals. In other parts of Northern Nigeria, too, nominal Muslims often disregard the provisions of Islamic law concerning marriage. In a case which was heard in my presence at the court of the chief cadi of Sokoto, sitting as a court of appeal from the court of a district cadi, a woman had been given in marriage by her brother to a man, and twenty days later by another brother to another man, and both had paid the bride-price; the chief cadi confirmed, of course, the correct decision of the district cadi, that the first marriage was valid, and as the second man claimed to have given as bride-price more than the woman acknowledged to have received from him, and as there was no evidence on this point, he imposed the oath on the woman. An official of the chief cadi's court explained to me that " those people of the bush " were only nominal Muslims and that similar rough and ready marriages were frequent among them; when a dispute arose, they replied in the affirmative to the question whether they were Muslims, and they were therefore sent before the

tribunal of the cadi. I noticed similar conditions in Bida (1). Here, the chief cadi, himself a graduate of Kano Law School and therefore inclined to doctrinaire purism, informed me that the imperfectly islamicized Muslims, whose numbers he tended to minimize, would not hesitate to perjure themselves on the Koran, and that he consequently made them take the oath first on the Koran, and afterwards on the pre-Islamic sacred Chain of Tsoede (2). Much of Northern Nigeria is, indeed, a country of syncretism, notwithstanding the outward success of the strict and militant Fulani movement.

At the same time, Islam is expanding, slowly but steadily, even without any active propaganda (3). This expansion is favoured by four main factors which are hardly new in themselves but take on a particular complexion in Northern Nigeria. First of all, the improvement of communications, the establishment of order and security, and the other effects of a modern administration enable Islam to penetrate more deeply among the superficially islamicized sections of the population, particularly those of the bush. Secondly, there is the higher cultural level and the higher social prestige of the Muslims, compared with those of the pagans, as well as their more advanced political organisation. During the last war, some Muslim emirs were flown out to visit the Nigerian units recruited from their emirates. Thereupon some pagan tribes began to feel that they were lacking something, and demanded official chiefs of their own. This was conceded where there was a demand for it, but these new chiefs began to adopt the attributes of the Muslim emirs, their official clothes, their staff of office, etc. This does not amount to islamicizing, but it facilitates it. There is, thirdly, the effect of administrative unification, by which formerly independent pagan regions have been attached, for administrative convenience, to Muslim emirates. I have given examples of this, and though it does not necessarily lead to a spread of Islam, it brings the populations in question into closer contact with it. Finally, and most

(1) Cf. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium, passim.*
(2) Cf. Nadel, *ibid.*, 73 and plate opposite p. 72.
(3) Nadel, *Nupe Religion*, v, has already commented on this.

important of all, there is the effect of modern elementary education. The teaching is purely practical, it is neither Christian nor Muslim in spirit, but it cannot be pagan in spirit either, and after four years of it, the pagan children have already outgrown the tribal ideas and sanctions and look down on tribal society. Furthermore, there is no local employment in the villages for the elementary skills they have acquired, and they drift to the towns as workmen, servants, etc. Here they feel isolated and uprooted, and the only society that welcomes them, which is at the same time the dominant society in the towns, is Muslim society.

Muslim education of the traditional kind is provided at all levels by the *mallams (mallam* or, more correctly, *malam* = *mu'allim)*, a term which denotes all religious scholars, whatever their degree of competence. This instruction is, in principle, private, informal, and gratuitous. Most *mallams* confine themselves to teaching Arabic script and the recitation of the Koran by heart to small numbers of boys, and occasionally a few girls, from their quarter or their village; some parents send their children even before they are able to talk. Most boys stay only long enough to learn the Koran, or parts of it, by heart, from about six to about ten years of age; during this time, they live with their teacher, and the help he derives from them in cultivating his plot or exercising his trade, because teaching for him is always a side-line, forms his main remuneration; he also receives occasionally small presents from the parents of his pupils. The girls leave the Koran schools, if they attend them at all, even earlier than the boys. The Hausa language, which is the lingua franca of the region, used to be written in Arabic characters, but is nowadays printed and written in Latin characters only; so this traditional kind of teaching does not even produce yong people literate in modern Hausa. Those boys whose parents are affluent enough and willing to let them continue their traditional studies, go and live with other, better qualified, *mallams* and study with them a little Arabic grammar, a little theology, and particularly religious law from the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl; this work is so highly thought of that it, and not the Koran, is meant when

scholars speak of " the book " *par excellence (al-kitāb)*. These boys then still go often into trade; should they be able to continue their studies further, they will find *mallams* learned enough to read with them *ḥadīth*, history, and even *adab*, although the study of too much *adab*, at the expense of the religious sciences, is frowned upon, " because it encourages them to talk too much ". The *uṣūl al-fiqh* are not studied at all in this traditional curriculum. As the institution of the *ḥabs* is not practised in Northern Nigeria, there are no schools, and no teaching posts, maintained by pious foundations. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, there has always been a tenuous but, in its best representatives, respectable tradition of Islamic religious learning in the region. Under these conditions it is not surprising that there are hardly any established schools, run by the Muslims themselves. An exception is the Al Adabiya Muslim School (in Arabic : *al-madrasa al-adabiyya al-kamāliyya*, named after its director, al-Ḥājj Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adabī) in Ilorin; its inspiration comes no doubt from the Southern region. Its curriculum comprises Arabic script and the learning by heart of the Koran in the lower, and Arabic and English in the higher forms. The concentration on Arabic and neglect of the vernacular seem typical of the programme of a small group of young Muslim intelligentsia; but the sign-board of the school was in English, in the style of a Southern advertisement, excepting the two words *al-'ilm nāfi'* " knowledge is useful ". An educated Nigerian *mallam*, in fact, commented to me on the lack of interest of the average African in Nigeria in his own language, as compared with English; the section of the population which could read literary Hausa, was not much larger than that which could read English.

Under the system of indirect administration, such as prevails in Nigeria, the Muslim emirs were left free to provide for the training of their cadis, muftis and other officials of the Native Courts, provided it conformed to the minimum standard laid down by the British administration. In order to assure this, the Sultan of Sokoto, for instance, maintains, out of the revenue which has been reserved for him, a Cadi School. At the time of my visit, there were about 20 students (it has a maximum

capacity of 25), who are being maintained by the sultan. There were three teachers, one for Islamic law, one for arithmetic, and one for Arabic. The course of study lasts five years or more, and leads to an examination and a diploma. In Islamic law, only the *furū'* are studied, after Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, Ibn 'Āṣim, and Khalīl, with the commentary of al-Ḥaṭṭāb. Neither traditions, apart from Nawawī's *Arba'īn*, nor *tafsīr*, nor theology are taught. In addition, English and arithmetic are taught in romanized Hausa. The students are provided with the books they need, from the school library; the *Muwaṭṭa'* and the *Mudawwana* are also there, but only for consultation by the teachers. In Arabic, the reading may go as far as Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, and the library possesses a copy of the *Lisān al-'Arab*. This is what the teachers told me about the curriculum; a former student, who had followed the course for two years and was waiting for his first appointment as a secretary to a cadi's tribunal in the bush, informed me that he had studied in law Qayrawānī's *Risāla* with Nafrāwī's commentary, *al-Fawākih al-dawānī*, the writings of Muḥammad Bello on religious law, and Khalīl, and in Arabic only elementary grammar. The most promising students pass on to the Kano Law School. This was founded by the British administration and staffed with *shaykhs* from the (former Anglo-Egyptian) Sudan. The *shaykhs* themselves were Mālikīs; as they came from a country where the officially recognized doctrine of Islamic law was Ḥanafī, they were at first regarded with suspicion, but soon succeeded in gaining general respect. Later, a literary section was added to the school, and the whole is now called the Kano School for Arabic Studies. Here, the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, studied with the help of Subkī's *Jam' al-jawāmi'* and its commentaries, form part of the curriculum. Notwithstanding the success which those *shaykhs* from the East have made of their teaching of Islamic law according to the Mālikī school, they stand outside the tradition of Muhammadan legal practice as it has developed, even under the Fulanis, in Northern Nigeria, and their pupils are apt to concentrate on the most uncompromising, theoretical aspects of Islamic law and to lose sight of the important accommodations with the actual practice for which the Mālikī doctrine

has always found room. Those *shaykhs*, too, are responsible for the introduction of a nondescript Eastern *naskhī* type of Arabic writing in place of the forceful Western Sudanese style, which is still employed by the older scholars and scribes. The graduates of the School are sent for practical training, before they are appointed to junior posts, to the courts of the main chief cadis. At the time of my visit, only one of the Nigerians trained at Kano had qualified for taking the courses of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, where he took a certificate at the end of the second year; since then, a number of candidates from Nigeria has joined the courses for Colonial Administrative Officers in England.

There was, originally, a strong reluctance on the part of the leading Muslim families to send their children to British sponsored schools. I know, for example, of the son of a former notable and the son of his former slave. This last, having nothing better to do, went to the modern elementary school, whereas the son of the notable naturally could not go to the same school as the sons of slaves. Today, thanks to his elementary education, the son of the slave owns half his village, whereas the son of the notable is the servant of a European official. In another province, a high official of the Native Administration told me that when the British encouraged the families of the notables to send their children to the modern schools, his father refused to send his eldest son and sent him, the second son, instead, in the hope that he would be turned back as being too young (a hope which, as it turned out, proved vain). In still another emirate I heard that when the Kano Law School was set up and the emirates were asked to send suitable candidates, the emirate in question did not want to have anything to do with this suspect innovation, but in order to please the Government sent an outsider of humble origin, the son of an immigrant from French territory. This young man did very well indeed, was even invited to stay on at the School as a teacher, became a district cadi first, and chief cadi when this office fell vacant.

In the Fulani period, Katsina (in Arabic script: Kashina) enjoyed a high reputation as a seat of learning, Kano as a centre

of trade, and Sokoto as the seat of government and politics; these distinctions have now disappeared, and there is no single centre of traditional Islamic learning in Northern Nigeria. The country is, of course, solidly Mālikī; I found no trace of the alleged presence of some Ḥanafīs or Shāfi'īs in the North-Eastern part. (On the Aḥmadiyya, see below.) Although the Fulani movement set out to restore Islam in its most uncompromising purity, some scholars of high standing, though fortunately not all, refuse to have anything to do with the administration of justice. A very learned chief cadi, whose scruples had been overcome, quoted to me repeatedly the tradition: « Who becomes a cadi, is slaughtered without a knife " (1). This professed reluctance to accept government office is, of course, itself part of the correct orthodox attitude. There are some first-rate religious scholars, in the traditional way, in Northern Nigeria, and many cadis devote their leisure to private study and possess more or less extensive collections of books. A cadi, for instance, in a remote place in a prevalently pagan region, had an extensive knowledge not only of the works of 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio, but of the classical collections of traditions with their commentaries, which he used to read until late at night.

Contrary to what one should expect, the common worship on Friday is apparently sometimes performed rather casually, even in the capitals of the emirates. In at least one such place the attendance is often very poor; in other places the congregations were big enough and even overflowed outside the mosque, but the faithful continued to walk in unconcernedly during the whole of the *khuṭba*, while the food, fodder and water sellers outside, mostly women, continued trading briskly with their customers, who were men, until there was a final rush and rows were formed outside for two very short and hurried *rak'as*. Only very few of the women present took part in the worship, nor did the emir's ceremonial bodyguard, who stood about waiting outside. Women, incidentally, never visit the mosques. On the other hand, one could see people doing

(1) *Man ju'ila qāḍiyan bayn al-nās fa-qad dhubiḥa bi-ghayr sikkīn.*

voluntary *ṣalāts* in the little *muṣallās*, small open spaces for prayer which are commonly found at the side of the streets, immediately afterwards. In the *khuṭba*, invocations are made for the welfare of the Muslims and those whom Allah has set over them *(sallaṭa)*, but neither the Sultan of Sokoto nor an emir is mentioned by name; *shaykh* Uthmān ḍan Fodio is said to have disapproved of this custom. In some places, the same *khuṭba* is used throughout the year; in others it is changed every month or every week, and there exist handwritten collections of *khuṭbas*. When the *imām* speaks the *khuṭba*, he usually holds a staff, occasionally a bow. In the form Liman, the word *imām* has become the title of a high official at the emir's court and member of the emir's council; he does not necessarily lead the Friday worship.

There is little worship of saints and saints' tombs in Northern Nigeria, presumably because the Fulanis succeeded in eradicating most of this cult. In Katsina, however, the legends and tombs of two pre-Fulani saints have survived, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (in Hausa: Ḍan Marinā) and Ibn Tākum (in Hausa: Ḍan Tākum). Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh is the principal saint *(walī)* of Katsina. Their tombs are visited the whole year round, and they have no particular festivals. The tombs are low heaps of sand in small, very simple buildings of a rectangular ground-plan, each in the middle of a cemetery, but within the walls of the city. On the trees which surround the tomb of Ibn Tākum, are hung gourds and other containers in which the visitors put charitable gifts of food and money which are taken and consumed by the poor inhabitants of the neighbourhood; the visitors also leave food for the dogs of the quarter. There is a spurious tomb of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in Bornu Province, near the frontier of the French Cameroons, and tombs of learned or pious men, of the Fulani and the pre-Fulani periods, are remembered in several places, but they are not, as a rule, visited. The great exception is provided by the tombs of 'Uthmān ḍan Fodio, the nearest members of his family, and some of his associates. The tomb of 'Uthmān himself, in Sokoto, is in an unadorned structure of brick, with a square ground plan, its walls pierced by small openings leading into the dark space inside, the whole standing

under a dome in the local style. Tombs of his descendants in the same and in neighbouring buildings are marked by mere heaps of sand. The compound is in the care of a descendant of *shaykh* 'Uthmān who, however, holds no office in the sultanate. There are always numerous pilgrims who leave gifts, which are distributed to the poor. In Gwandu, there is the tomb of 'Uthmān's half-brother 'Abdallāh. It, too, is situated in an unadorned building of brick, with a square ground plan, in a small courtyard surrounded by a low wall. Inside, the roof is supported by four pillars. Between two pillars and a wall, is the tomb of 'Abdallāh, a heap of sand surrounded by stones, with a knee-high screen of mud bricks in front of it ; the tombs of four of his relatives and followers, marked in the same way but not protected by screens, are arranged symmetrically in the rest of the building. Near to it, there is the tomb of Khalīl, a scholar of the time of 'Abdallāh, as I was told ; it is in the centre of a smaller building with a square ground plan, whose roof, too, is supported by four pillars which are joined by a man-high screen of mud bricks. The walls of both buildings are pierced by several small openings into which visitors put their hands when praying in order to acquire *baraka*. It is curious to observe how a movement which set out to eradicate certain customs which it thought contrary to pure Islam, gave rise, in its turn, to the same customs.

It was only under British administration that Islamic law, according to Mālikī doctrine, became in practice the only law applicable to the Muslims of Northern Nigeria (with the important but natural exception of land law). (1) It should be noted, however, that several institutions recognized by Mālikī law are not in actual use. The *ḥabs*, for instance, is not practised, the office of *muḥtasib* is unknown, (2) there are no profes-

(1) Cf. V. K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*, London, 1946, 145-168

(2) Neither the functions of the *alkalin kasuwa* (literally: cadi of the market a title given in some places to a district cadi with restricted competence) nor thos. of the *sarkin kasuwa* (literally: chief of the market) correspond with those of th, *muḥtasib*.

sional witnesses or " notaries" (*'udūl*), (1) and there is no trace of the specifically Moroccan developments of the *shahādat al-lafīf* and of a theory of *'amal*. The procedure before the cadis' tribunals closely follows that laid down by Islamic law, both in civil and in criminal cases, and the behaviour of the parties before the cadi is a living commentary on the works dealing with the Islamic administration of justice. We continually find those claims and counter-claims, partial fulfilments, tergiversations and procrastinations, which form a great part of the subject-matter of works on Islamic judicial procedure. The oath of the parties works as an effective sanction in the case of careful Muslims, and I came across several instances of the refusal to take it. (2) As regards evidence, however, concessions are made, under the rule of "necessity" (*ḍarūra*), to the requirements of practice ; (3) in particular, a number of cadis, though by no means all, put witnesses, too, on oath if they are not above suspicion or if the other party demands it. Some cadis gave the specious explanation that as "in the present time" the character of a witness as *'adl* was impossible to establish by "screening" (*tazkiya*), the refusal to take the oath showed to the cadi that the person in question was not *'adl*.

The old cadi of a small emirate described to me the progress which Islamic law had made, at the expense of the *siyāsa* or discretionary justice dispensed by the emir, since British influence made itself felt in the region. Formerly, he said, i.e. in the 19th century under Fulanis, the rulers took by tyranny the greater part of the estate of high officials who had died ; (4) when a witch-doctor died, they destroyed his house and the houses around it and took from them what they liked ; then, in 1900, these abuses were dropped and the strict law of inheritance came to be applied, "out of fear of the British". I myself

(1) Professional witnesses seem to have existed, however, under the Moroccan occupation of the Western Sudan; cf. Es-Sa'dī, *Tarikh as-Soudan*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris, 1898, 235; transl., Paris, 1900, 360, referring to an incident in Djenné in 1041/1632. The word used is *shāhid*.

(2) But see above, p., 129 on Bida.

(3) Cf. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 192-194.

(4) The word " tyranny " expresses the natural reaction of an Islamic scholar to such a procedure, it does not imply disloyalty to the Fulani movement.

saw from the files in Government House, Kaduna, which the then Chief Commissioner, Northern Provinces, and his Administrative Officers very kindly put at my disposal, that the emirs and their cadis, in the 'twenties of the present century, still took the exercise of *siyāsa* by the emir, parallel with the application of the *sharī'a* by the cadi, for granted. I also observed that since 1934-36, when Nadel made his investigations in Bida, Islamic law has made great progress there. The next ambition of the Muslim ruling class in Northern Nigeria is to continue in the same direction and to seek the removal of the few restrictions which the British administration had to impose on the full application of Islamic law. Their immediate objective is either to be left free to apply the Mālikī law of homicide to the letter, or to be relieved altogether of this matter, in which there is an obvious conflict of Islamic and British ideas of justice. Their motive in this is, beyond any doubt, a sincerely religious one, it is a question of conscience for them. Some scholars from among the best are content with this, and they accept the abolition of slavery and the abolition of mutilation as a penalty for theft ; as regards lapidation as a penalty for unchastity, they recognize themselves that the conditions for its application have not existed since the time of the Companions of the Prophet, and hardly even then, (1) and that it had not been applied under the Fulanis before the arrival of the British. Others, however, and most of these are either not really specialists in Islamic law of the old school, or they have received a purely theoretical training in it, would like to see theoretical Islamic law, as taught by the Mālikī school, recognized in its entirety as the only law of Northern Nigeria. A few upholders of this programme declared themselves prepared to follow the lead of the other Islamic countries in interpreting the rules of the *sharī'a* with regard to slavery and *ḥadd* punishments ; but they did not seem very well-informed as to conditions prevailing there, because one member of an emir's council quoted Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, without distinction, as possible models, whereas another declared himself shocked to

(1) A learned vizier referred to the story of Mughīra b. Shu'ba.

hear that in Egypt and in other Islamic countries Muslim judges should judge by a law other than that of the *sharī'a*, and asked indignantly how they could justify this if they claimed to be Muslims. The debates of the House of Chiefs and of the House of Assembly show how jealously the members of these bodies watch over the *sharī'a*, and how apt they are to oppose even the most innocent administrative measures on the grounds that they interfere with pure Islamic law. It was rare indeed for me to hear a very learned cadi of the old school set out the orthodox Islamic doctrine of the restriction of the competence of cadis by the rulers who had appointed them, and to accept the restrictions on repudiation which had been enacted in Egypt under this rule, as normal and legally valid in that country. But neither he nor any other Islamic scholar or emir in Northern Nigeria of whom I know, would agree to modifying the Mālikī doctrine by borrowings from other schools of Islamic law (*talfīq*) ; the same cadi quoted to me repeatedly the saying *man qallada 'āliman laqiya 'llāha sāliman*, and his emir told me proudly that the tradition on *raḥmat al-umma* gave them the right to be uncompromisingly Mālikī.

The interest shown by many Muslims of Northern Nigeria in slavery comes from the fact that concubinage (in addition, of course, to polygamy) is still widely practised by the ruling class and the well-to-do in all parts of the territory, and concubinage in Islamic law presupposes slavery. One of the first acts of the British administration was to abolish slavery by steps ; no person born after 31st March, 1901, can be a slave, and it does not therefore seem likely that there should be many desirable concubines left. But although slave trade was effectively stopped, there are still young concubines in many households, where they occupy a position slightly inferior to that of the wives. These concubines are recruited from the families of former slaves. (1) The former slaves of the emirs and of the other members of the Fulani aristocracy, as well as their descendants, regard their former status as unchanged, and

(1) Whether their former slavery is real or a polite fiction intended to cover up an irregular union. No social stigma attaches to the families of former slaves.

no one would think of questioning the right of the members of that class to choose concubines from among the descendants of the former slaves of their families. (1) Rich "commoners", however, run the risk of being prosecuted by the Native Police for immorality, and they have to take the obvious precaution against it. In addition, they pay an indemnity to the father or to the next of kin of the young girl whom they wish to take as a concubine. The chilfren born of these unions are, of course, regarded as legitimate. All this is most irregular from the point of view of Islamic law. Whatever a conservative Muslim scholar may think of the legal validity of the abolition of slavery by a non-Muslim government, concubinage, in order to be legitimate, presupposes a valid title of individual and exclusive ownership, and this title does not derive from the fact that the young girl in question is the descendant of former slaves of a man's family, and even less is it acquired by a payment made to her parents who, being under the most favourable hypothesis slaves themselves, could not possibly sell their own daughter to a master who wanted to make her his concubine. (2) It goes without saying that these unions never come before a cadi's court, and the cadis cannot but treat the former slaves and their descendants as free persons. All this is possible because there is no registration of marriages between Africans. Careful Muslims, therefore, do not practise this kind of concubinage, and those who do, know that they commit an irregularity. This explains the interest that the Muslims of Northern Nigeria show in having slavery re-established. (3)

Perhaps the most eloquent witness of this desire was a letter to the editor of *Gaskiya* ("The Truth"), the foremost Hausa

(1) I have been reliably informed that similar conditions prevail in Morocco.

(2) It may happen that a member of the former owner's family makes a gift of the young girl to her new " master "; this, too, would not, under normal conditions, help to create a valid title in Muslim law.

(3) In this connection I should like to mention a little-known treatise (not in Brockelmann) by al-Ḥabīb Faḍl Pasha b. al-Ḥabīb al-Ghawth 'Alawī *(sic)* b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, emir *(sic)* of Ẓafār, *Is'āf al-shafīq bi-bayān ḥikmat bay' al-raqīq* (on the cover: *al-Riqq fil-Islām wa-ḥikmatuh*), 15 pp., Alexandria, n. d., a defence of the slave trade and attack against the abolitionists.

language paper in Northern Nigeria, which was printed in its number 391 of 8th March, 1950, p. 2. It reads: (1)

"To the Editor. —After greetings, I beg to lay this complaint before you, so that you may approach the Sultan in order that I may achieve my desire. I am of slave descent, belonging to one of the families of court slaves. Both my father and mother were slaves of a certain emir. My mother's name is Munayabo, and my father's Ci-wake. A well-to-do man has fallen in love with me, and I love him too, but he has got four wives already. For this reason we find it difficult to make arrangements for living together. I asked a learned *mallam*, who told me to ask my father's consent first, according to Islamic law, and also that of the authorities. If they agree to the proposal, I can become his concubine, Islamic law allows it. This is what the *mallam* told me. Well, Mr. Editor, my father, Islamic law, I myself and the rich man have agreed, only the authorities remain. May they agree to make proper arrangements for me so that I may be allowed into the harem of the man. My father's and my mother's names show that I really belong to a family of former slaves.

"I believe there are quite a number of girls such as me in the North. We have found that if girls in our position were allowed by the authorities, as is permitted by the Law, to live as concubines in the harems of princes and well-to-do and important officials, the number of prostitutes who walk the streets would be reduced considerably. In this way, it may be possible for some of us to give birth to children who will one day be useful to the country. In this way, I may give birth to a son who may even one day become an emir. This will be better than our walking about in the towns and giving birth to children without proper fathers. Our religion permits it, but it is the authorities that are closing the door against us. I am sure that if the authorities allowed it, certain great houses in the North would accommodate thousands of us.

"Mr. Editor, I have given you a full explanation. We have

(1) The translation which follows was kindly supplied to me by the staff of *Gaskiya*.

come to an agreement with the said rich man, and are only waiting for the consent of the authorities on behalf of the Sultan. I wish you would lay my statement, as set out here, before the authorities and not allow room for destructive criticism. I should like the critics to understand that it is not my father who is trying to sell me into slavery. It is at my own free will that I desire to live in a big harem with a man who has already got four wives. I adjure you by Allah, Mr. Editor, to publish this letter so that I may get a reply and permission from the authorities.

(Signature)".

The signatory of this letter was a well-educated young girl who had passed with distinction through the modern Government College for Girls.

The editor of *Gaskiya* who printed this letter was Abubakar Imam, the leader of a group of thoughtful and reformist young Nigerian Muslims, and I will mention here, without comment, some of the ideas which he and some of his friends expressed to me freely. They were all agreed that the *sharī'a* ought to be applied strictly and to its full extent; only in this way, they said, could the independence of the cadis be assured, because the judiciary ought to be separate from the executive. Modern education, being non-religious, was an enemy of religion. The greater material incentives and rewards offered by modern training positively hindred and discouraged Arabic and Islamic education, and the social vices of Europe had spread to Northern Nigeria in its wake. The low standard of Arabic and Islamic learning in Northern Nigeria came from the fact that it existed only in a rudimentary state when Islam was introduced there, and reached its full development only after the Europeans had cut off the trade routes to the East. Muslims ought to be brought up as good Muslims, Christians as good Christians, and pagans as good pagans, who believed faithfully in their idols. Abubakar Imam had been brought up in a pagan area, and there were no people more kindly, reliable, and full of social responsibility than pagans. The Koran did not order pagans to be killed, and as for traditions, some were authentic and others

not. The main function of women, for which the girls ought to be educated, was the bringing up of children. There had been a letter to *Gaskiya* on the Boy Scout movement; the writer approved of it on the whole, but found that two things in the Scout Law went against Islam. One was the promise to "honour" (as it read in the Hausa translation) women, and this was in conflict with the social system of Islam, and the other was the promise to worship God and to obey the King; but worshipping God was a duty, and could therefore not be made the object of a promise. Abubakar Imam wrote a leader on this letter in which he upheld the objections and declared his own preference for the "positively Christian" Boys' Brigades. In this connexion I will mention that when the first of the *shaykhs* from the Sudan arrived in order to teach at Kano Law School, the boys of the Government Secondary School there complained to him that they were forced to bare their knees for games, which was un-Islamic. The *shaykh* said nothing, but appeared himself in shorts, and with a flowing beard, in their football team, where he became a great success.

It does not seem that Abubakar Imam and his group have given much thought to practical measures. For these, we must turn to the Native Administrations of some progressive emirs, such as the Emir of Katsina, who out of his private means built a beautiful mosque in a happy adaptation of local style, (1) and at the same time encouraged his people to use the health services by sending his wives in cases of illness and for their confinements to the women's hospital. (2) There is now positive interest in modern education in more than one emirate, and an otherwise very conservative member of an emir's council declared emphatically that in his opinion the best way of overcoming the educational superiority of the South, was to show greater eagerness for modern education in the North.

(1) Its inscription reads in Arabic and in English: "*Hādhā 'l-masjid al-jāmi' banāhu amīr Kashina al-Ḥājj Dikko bnu Ghidādo 'ām 1354 hijriyya mīlād 1935* — This mosque was presented to the people of Katsina by Alhaji Dikko Ɗan Giɗaɗo, Emir of Katsina, in the year 1935". Two other modern mosques, of which I know, were built by the Emirs of Ilorin (in 1351/1932) and of Kano (in 1950).

(2) The staff of this hospital is, of course, exclusively female.

Several emirates have availed themselves of the means put at their disposal by the British administration for establishing public reading rooms, of which that of Katsina is typical. (1) It contains considerable collections of English and of Arabic books. Among these last, I noticed the Koran, the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* with glosses, the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, the *Muwaṭṭa'* with Suyūṭī's commentary, a representative selection of Mālikī works, some edifying works, the Arabian Nights and other books of *adab*, including the *Maqāmāt* of *Harīrī*. Most of these books existed in several copies, and they did not lack readers. It was clear that an interest in modern education went parallel with an increased interest in Arabic and Islamic studies.

The most important single factor that is making the spread of new ideas among the Muslims of Northern Nigeria difficult, is the seclusion of women among the bourgeoisie, which would be the natural medium for the spread of such ideas. From the time that the small girls have finished their elementary education at a *mallam's* school, the women of this class hardly ever leave their houses again, they never visit a public bath, because there are no public baths, they have hardly ever occasion to talk to friends and neighbours, their only female companions are their fellow-wives, their servants, and the other women in the establishments of their husbands. There they pass most of their days in an inner courtyard, each sitting in front of the door of the separate room which Islamic law obliges the polygamous husband to provide for each of his wives. This makes it almost impossible for women of this class to develop common interests and to acquire new ideas. These conditions are materially mitigated for the upper, ruling class ; progressive emirs and notables can and do send their daughters to the Government Colleges for Girls, and the bourgeoisie is beginning to imitate their example and to let their daughters train as nurses and teachers. Conditions are different, too, among the poorer classes and the people of the bush, who are often ignorant and only superficially islamicized ; their womenfolk enjoy,

(1) Others are in Kano, Maiduguri (the capital of the emirate of Bornu), etc.

indeed, considerable freedom, and in the bush they often walk about half-naked. I once saw appear before a cadi a woman from the bush whose only covering above the navel was a haik; (1) as she gesticulated, the haik gradually slipped down, and the cadi called her to order from time to time by saying *iḥtashimī*, "make yourself decent", the meaning of which she understood from his expression. Between those two extremes, the veil is practically unknown in Northern Nigeria. (2)

The Muslims of Northern Nigeria form a very isolated community. This isolation of theirs is partly conditioned by their geographical situation, but not exclusively or even mainly so ; the scholars find no difficulty in obtaining Arabic books printed in the East, and there is always a certain number of pilgrims to Mecca ; most of these, it is true, remain in Mecca in order to finish their days there, or they settle in one or the other place on their long way back. Most of their isolation, however, is voluntary and intentional. Although some scholars and officials of the Native Administration expressed the wish to travel if they could (adding at once that they were too old, or did not have the means or the time), they are generally afraid of being contaminated by modern ideas, and particularly by the non-Islamic South. This adds to their zeal for maintaining the *sharī'a* to its full extent and to their attachment to the dynasties of their emirs. The South, too, is a country of the Aḥmadiyya, who carry out an energetic missionary activity there. Most of the newly converted Muslims in the South are Aḥmadiyya; they are particularly numerous in the great cities, such as Ibadan and Lagos, and an organisation of theirs, called Ansar-ud-Deen, is running a number of schools and a Training Centre for Elementary Teachers. Whereas the ordinary Muslims in the North are not unwilling to contribute to any Islamic society with an ostensibly religious purpose, the official

(1) Women are not admitted to the courtroom proper but speak either through a window or, more often, from the arcade or gallery which, as a rule, runs along one or more walls of the courtroom. This is an archaic feature which I noticed in East Africa as well.

(2) This paragraph is based on observations made in Katsina, Sokoto, and Zaria.

spokesmen of Islam regard the Aḥmadiyya with deep suspicion, if not with outspoken hostility, and at the time of my visit had succeeded in holding up indefinitely the project of the Ansar-ud-Deen of building a school in Kano.

The nearest parallel I know to the present state of Islam in Northern Nigeria, in more than one respect, is the form it took, many centuries ago, under the Almoravids (1).

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(1) Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Réflexions sur l'empire almoravide*, in « Cinquantenaire de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger », Algiers, 1932, 316 f.; E. Garcia Gómez, *Un eclipse de la poesia en Sevilla*, Madrid, 1945, 48 f.; H. Terrasse, *Le rôle des Almoravides dans l'histoire de l'Occident*, in « Mélanges Louis Halphen », Paris, 1951, 676-679. — I wish to thank all my informants in Northern Nigeria, African and British, officials and private persons, for their invaluable help.

[Add to p. 123, n. 3: W. M. Watt, *Some Problems before West African Islam*, in *Islamic Quarterly*, IV, 1957, 43-51; and to p. 125, n. 1: M. Hiskett, *Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their* jihād, in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XIX/3, 1957, 550-578].

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